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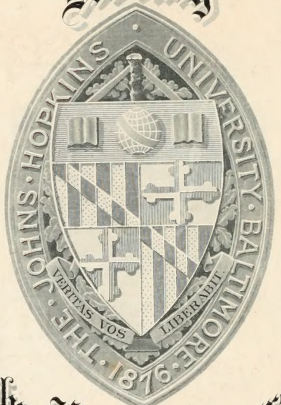

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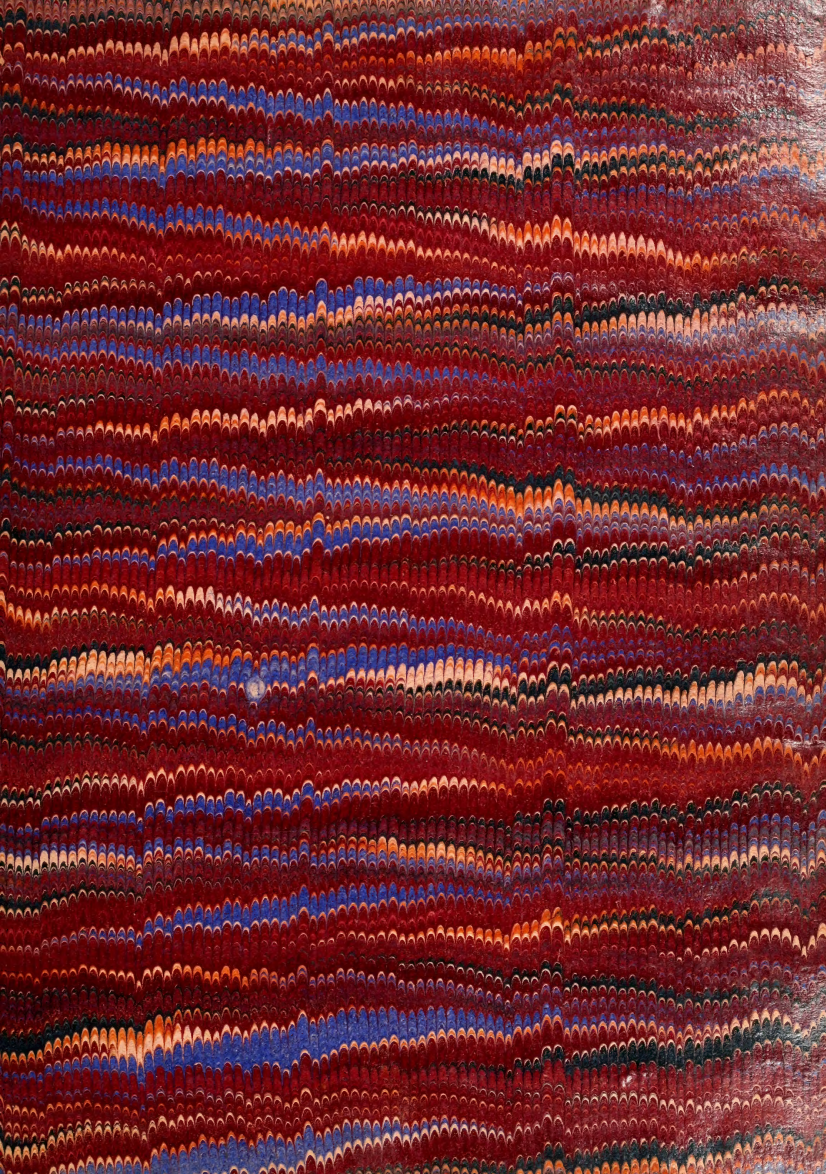

A Study of Suffix-rime in Otfrids Evangelienbuch.

A

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by

Thomas Howard Fowler.

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Introduction.

The earliest important treatment of Otfrid's rime was that of Wilhelm Grimm in 1850, under "Zur Geschichte des Reims", found in his Kleinere Schriften 4, 159 ff. So far, however, as Otfrid is concerned, the major part of Grimm's work has to do only with identical rime, so that it can not be regarded as a complete study of the Old High German author.

In 1874 Zarncke published an article entitled "Die Reime des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts" in the Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig 26, p. 34 ff., but as this study is almost wholly limited to rimes in which at least one word is a root-syllable, the sections devoted to Otfrid do not in any sense present a full or satisfactory view of the entire system of rimes.

Still later, in ZfdA., 16, p. 117 ff., Kelmanne, in what may be regarded as a continuation of Zarncke's method, treated those rimes in which one or both

words are root-syllables, styling these stem-rimes; other sorts of rime he regarded as suffix-rime, although there is no good reason why, rimes extending over more than one syllable, such as frôno : scôno, should be classified as suffix-rime rather than stem-rime. The term is, however, a convenient one, and for lack of a better has been retained in the following pages.

Paul in the first edition of the Grundriss 2, p. 963 f., and Kögel, Deutsche Litteraturgeschichte I, 2, 23 f. have also made contributions to the study of rime in Otfrid, but none of the above represents a detailed study of suffix-[illegible], and the point of view from which they [illegible] and many of the rimes is, in the opinion of the writer, not altogether correct.

In the following pages, therefore, a study of suffix-rime in Otfrid is proposed, including:

I. Penultimate rime. (Type frôno : scôno.)

II. Penultimate-antepenultimate rime. (Type folgêt : woltun)

III. Antepenultimate rime. (Type worahta : forahta.)

A further detailed discussion of root-syllable rime is not deemed necessary; and it will be considered only in connection with identical rime.

One of the main questions which the present investigation will aim to settle is: What minimum amount of similarity in the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable will justify us in asserting penult- or antepenultimate rime?

In order to answer this question the rimes will be classified under various rubrics, that they may thereby lend themselves more easily to observation, and that interesting facts may thus be brought to notice.

All evidence of varying rime usage in the different books will be gathered and subjected to scrutiny, with the intention of offering it as a contribution to the much mooted question of the order in which the various books were written.

The Classification of the Runes.

The statistics given by Wilmanns[1] for so-called stem-rune are not entirely accurate. The correct figures for this as well as for suffix-rune are hence given below:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Length	1240	1244	1576	1572	1472	= 7104
Root-syll. rune.	261	383	492	462	406	= 2004
	21%	30.8%	31.2%	29.4%	27.6%	= 28.2%
Suffix-rune	971	861	1084	1109	1066	= 5091
	78.2%	69.2	68.8%	70.6%	72.4%	= 71.7%

In this connection it should be remembered that there are eight instances of runeless verse[2] in Book I, and one in Book IV.

From these figures it will be seen that Books V, and [illegible] I, contain the smallest amount of root-syllable rune, and therefore have a larger proportion of suffix rune, penultimate and antepenultimate rune. Suffix rune includes, then, 71.7% of the total number

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1) Zfd A, 16, 117f. 2) Kögel Deutsche Litteraturgeschichte I, 2, 2f.

of rimes. so that the ratio of its occurrence to that in which one or both riming words are root-syllables is about 2½ to 1.

As penultimate and antepenultimate rime thus assume the major rôle in Ot[illegible] the question naturally suggests itself why they have never been examined with the same care with which root-syllable rime has been studied. The answer may be found in Zarncke[1], who, after a discussion of the types of rime just mentioned, remarks:

"Neben der reinenden Setzung Hebung lässt nun Otfrid auch gerne noch die voraufgehende Silbe oder mehrere Silben mitreimen, so gerne, dass diese Zweisilbigen, (und dreisilbigen) Reime bei ihm die Überzahl ausmachen, und recht eigentlich den Charakter seiner Verse bestimmen. Eine Statistik derselben würde nicht ohne Interesse sein, aber beschränkende Bestimmungen lassen sich nicht feststellen, da das ganze Farbenspiel

[1] Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft [illegible] 19

vom vollständigen Zusammenklingen bis zur absoluten Reinlosigkeit durchlaufen wird, so dass man kaum sagen kann, wo die Grenze festzustellen, wo noch ein ungenaues Mitreimen, wo bereits Reinlosigkeit anzunehmen sei. Nur das Ziel wird sich aus statistischer Beobachtung geben: offenbar hat sich Otfrid allmählig in den dem Ohre schmeichelnden vollen oder doch nahezu vollen Zwiklang hinein gefunden. Man vgl. z. B. die Reime in I. 4, vielleicht das erste Kapitel das Otfrid dichtete, mit denen in der Widmung an Ludwig. Die im Anfange nur nicht verschmähten Doppelreime sind allmählig immer mehr die Regel geworden."

Now, while the above mentioned difficulty is a real one, it is not so insurmountable as Zarncke suggests; for with the material before one, and classified properly according to both the accurate and inaccurate types, it is possible to arrive at results that not only afford a better understanding of the nature of [illegible]

rime, and of Otfrid's principle [illegible] ing them, but that also furnish a standard by which to judge to what extent inaccuracies of rime are compatible with the riming character of the syllables in question.

The Ultima.

In discussing the rimes that extend over two or three syllables, it is most convenient and logical to start with a consideration of the ultima, especially since this syllable is almost always accurately rimed. The exceptions, where the vowels are entirely different, are quite rare, and the latter are in all cases followed by the consonant-group, while the initial consonants of these syllables are usually identical. Cf. gisuâson : muasun; fârôn : ôrun. In these two instances[2] it is, then, the consonants that supply the element of identity for rime in the final syllable.

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[1] Cf. Erdmann's large edit. of Otfrid. Introd. LXVIII. [2] About 12, so rare they may be included in the following three classes on

We may distinguish, therefore, three classes of rimes in so far as the ultima is concerned:

I. The initial consonants of the ultimae are identical. cf. zîti : nôti, forahta : worahta.

II. The initial consonants of the ultimae are not identical, but similar. cf. wâri : scôn; rigilon : segenon.

III. The initial consonants of the ultimae are neither identical nor similar. cf. biginnen : bilgan; edili : hêlida.

Of these three classes I is by far the largest, including 4265 rimes, that is 83.8% of the total number of suffix-rimes. The predominance of such rimes in which the final syllables are identical is not to be ascribed to accident, but is due to a conscious effort on the part of the poet, as can be shown from a study of the synonyms. Let us take, for instance, the words âbulgi, zorn, and heizmuati, meaning in general "anger".

Upon examining the rimes of heizmuati, which are four in number, we find that they are all with nôti, i.e. with a word whose final syllable is identical with heizmuati. (These four are found in I 20,2; III 20,129; IV 19,4; V 14,4)

Otfrid might have used âbulgî : nôti, as the former word occurs just as often in the text as heizmuatî, having used twice in rime out of a total of four instances; but as this rime would have destroyed the identity of the final syllable he refrained from doing so.

Likewise, of the two rimes of Zorne, one is with wanne (IV 30, 9), according to the above principle, which would have been violated had either âbulge or heizmuate been used instead; the other rime of Zorne is with horne (IV 26, 2) an example of accurate penultimate rime.

Again, we have the group gâhî, snellî, and îla, meaning "haste or quickness", and of these gâhî occurs 17 times in rime, 15 of which are accurate penultimate rimes. The other two are: gâhî : wîhî (I 8, 13), and gâhî : hôhî (V 4, 25).

Snellî could have stood in rime in either case instead of gâhî, but such rime would have done away with the identity of the final syllables, and it above

be explained on this ground'.

The same observation may be made in the case of the verbs gâhen, gigâhan, îlen and gi-îlen, gigâhen appearing in inflectional form in nine 8 times, 6 of which are accurate penultimate rimes, the other two being gigâhe : gihôhe (I 1, 32–), and gigâhen : gihôhen (III, 6 20). If we substitute in the one case gi-île and in the other gi-îlen, it will appear why Otfrid did not use these latter forms.

Thirdly, the group of words signifying "sin crime", which are : sunta, meina, akust, missidât, ubarmuati, and fravilî. The rimes of sunta, which are 12 in number, are of the accurate penultimate type of rime, as sunta : wunta with but four exceptions, three of which come under our consideration. They are wortun : sunton (II 7, 14; IV 22, 34) and [illegible] : sunta (,).

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1) Of course no form of îla could have been used here, as it belongs to a declension, in which the finial [illegible] always different from that of the [illegible]

meinâ[1] and meinâ are in order here in the place of suntôn, sunta, but the rule for the identity of the final syllable prohibits their use.

In a similar manner, there are eight rimes of ubarmuatî, of which six are accurate penultimate rimes, while the remaining two are ubarmuatî : nôti (II 5, 7;) and ubarmuatî : nôti (I 18, 13), had fravilî been substituted for ubarmuatî it would have resulted in a difference between the final syllables.

We have in Otfrid two verbs meaning "to think," thenken and wânen, and there are eleven instances of rimes of the former with forms of wirken, in which some form of wânen might have been used, instead of thenken, had the initial consonant of the final syllable been the same.

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[1] I shall not discuss the question as to whether O. rimes long with short vowels in the suffix syllable, although I am more inclined to believe with Korgel, Litt. Gesch. I 2, 21 f. that he does than with Zwierzina in Z. f. d. A. 44, 13, who holds the opposite opinion.

Again, the groups liob, diuri, drût, gimmati, Zeiz, signifying "dear". There are nine rimes of diura, gimmati and Zeiz in various inflectional forms that concern us, namely: diura : wâra (IV 35, 19; V 23, 120), diuron : wâron (IV 33, 35), diuri : mâri (I 6, 16), diuri : hêru (IV 4, 22), diuru : mâru (V 25, 22); gimmati : herotî (IV 11, 23), gimmatê : brietê (III 6, 30); Zeizo : suazo (II 8, 15).
In all these nine rimes some one of the other words of the group might have been employed but for the straining after identity of final syllable described above.

Of verbs of "saying" there are eleven rimes of forms of sagan with other words, in which, if some other verb of "saying" as gehan or sprechan were substituted, the final syllables would no longer be identical.

There is also one rime of redino: forasagôno (II 18, 3), for which redio, of like meaning though of less frequent occurrence, could be used; and likewise a rime-pair in Zeltun: thingotun (V 23, 237) where sprâchun would [illegible]

as the first rime word. In all these cases the substitutes seem to be avoided intentionally.

As a final group may be mentioned the adjectives Ziari and scôni, meaning "beautiful". Scôni in some one of its inflectional forms occurs nine times in rime where some form of Ziari would also be in place. Namely: scôni : gisiuni (I 4,24), scôni : anawâni (I 4,48), scôni : wâni (II 7,49), scône : Zuêne (V 7,13; V 18.2; V 20,9), scônaz : seltsânaz (V 23,175), scônes : gisuunes (I 12,32), scônin : indanin (II 6,19).

The adverb scôno likewise stands in rime with sîno (IV 7,81), where the adverb Ziaro would have violated the regular rule.

Many other synonyms might be quoted to illustrate the point in question, and in all these Otfrid's effort to secure identity of the final syllables can be clearly traced, so that the predominance of these cannot be due to mere accident, but must be the result of a consistent plan.

It remains to discuss classes II and [illegible]

contain together 826 examples, and are therefore much smaller in number than the preceding, the ratio being nearly 5:1

In the first of these classes the initial consonants of the final syllables, though not identical, are similar. This class includes 428 rimes, that is over one-half of the cases in which the final syllable is not identical. Here are to be grouped first the rimes of the nasals and liquids with each other, such as rîme : zuîne, scône : wâre etc.

The similarity of n, l, r, and m with each other as well as the frequency with which they rime, the one with the other, proves that Otfrid sought such rimes, wherever he could not secure identity of the final syllable.

The statistic is as follows:

	Examples:	
l : n = 104		gimeinit : gidelit
l : m = 57		arme : wolle
l : r = 36		zóro : stuolo
n : r = 40		scône : wâre

m : r = 21 qi zâni : wâri

m : n = 29 armon : hornon.
Total 235

Noticeable is the frequency of the rimes of l : n and the rarity with which Otfrid joins l and m in rime. The consonants occur in rime in the following order: n 173 times; l 145; r 97; m 55.

By comparing these numbers with those given above of the rimes of the various consonants with each other, we may see how often we should expect certain consonants to rime together; then by a comparison of this latter result with the number of rimes actually found, we can judge which, among these nasals and liquids, were regarded as most similar for rime purposes. Thus, 77 rimes of l : n are expected where 104 actually occur, but where we should expect 45 of l : r, and 27 of l : m, only 36 and 5 respectively are found. If this method be carried out for each consonant we arrive at a result for their similarity which may be represented by the two lines { l, n, r, m / n, l, m, r; that is to say, starting from l in the upper line and proceeding to the right are given, in order of similarity to it, the other consonants; then with m as starting point and advancing to the left, the same is true, and also in the case of n and r in the second line. The results obtained show that l and n are most similar to each other, and r and m, for purposes of rime.

Besides the above consonants there are rimes of other similar consonants which require some discussion, namely ŋ (ñ) : n, and d : n.

The following considerations justify us in assuming the existence and intentional character of rime of the guttural nasal and dental nasal in final syllables, as in brginnan : singan :

I. Their similarity as nasal consonants.

II. The frequency of rimes of ŋ : n, for of the 109 rimes of ŋ with other consonants 69, i.e. 64.5% of the total number, are with n.

III. Excluding the rimes of ŋ : n, the other rimes of ŋ are with consonants[1] that are similar to n (nasals, liquids and d) and found in rime with it frequently. That is to say, 83.5% of the rimes of ŋ with other consonants are with n or consonants similar to

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[1] The only exceptions are ŋ : g = 14 (cf. Refrain in V 19 which contains 5 rimes of þingon : mennisgon), ŋ : t = 1, and ŋ : b = 1

n, a proportion that, taken in connection with other proof cited above, tends to show that the riming of ng with n in final syllables is intentional.

It may be objected that if rime of ng with n is assumed, we must also admit that of f with n, because of its frequency, as it occurs 65 times to 69 instances of ng : n, but a study of the former shows that they are clearly due to chance and are in no way intentional. As proofs of this are the following:

I. f and n are dissimilar consonants, whereas ng and n are of like nature.

II. The proportion of ng rimes with n is greater than that of f : n, for while out of a total of 109 rimes of ng 69 are with n, i.e. 63.3%, of a total of 144 rimes of f only 65, or 45.1% are with n, so that there is a difference of 18.2%.

III. From a classification of the f : n rimes it can be seen that 52 out of the total 65 are such as come under the head of three-syllable [illegible]

rime, as ingegini : menigi; but in the rimes of ng : n only 5 rimes are of this character, the remainder belonging to the type thwingz : inne.

This fact is significant, for in antepenultimate rime there is not only an effort to secure rime of the penult, but also of the antepenult, hence the number of words where this amount of agreement is found must of necessity be more restricted than in penultimate rime, and we therefore find the same rime-pairs repeated again and again, or one word occurring a number of times in different combinations. Compare ingegini : menigi found 26 times, nearly one half the total number of rimes of n : g; also menigi : githigini, 4 times, and bredgôn : redniôn, 6 times. Besides, in the effort to rime both penult and antepenult there is less chance of making the initial consonant of the final syllable identical or similar; and in a rime in which the first two syllables rime and the initial consonant of the ultima does not, the absence of the latter would not

be felt as keenly as in the case of penultimate rimes where it was also absent.

IV n occurs as the initial consonant of the final syllable in antepenultimate rimes 102 times altogether, i.e. more often than any other consonant, g coming second with 64 instances.[1] It is therefore the most natural state of affairs to find these two consonants riming so often with each other, as it is a matter of question of frequency of use. There is therefore no reason for assuming intention in the numerous rimes of n : g, as in the case of n : ng.

At this point the question presents itself what was the pronunciation of ng as evidenced by Otfrid's rimes? ng is found in rime with other consonants a total of 109 times, 70 of which, or 62.59%, are rimes with double consonants; that is, there are 60 rimes with nn, as biginnan : sinnan, and 10 with ll, a-

1) n occupies third place with 31, and l fourth, with 27 rimes, which serves to show the much greater frequency of n and g in the class of rimes.

Zellen : thingen. So large a proportion of the rimes of ng being with double consonants leads one to the point of view that ng was itself a geminate, i.e. a single sound as in modern German, but pronounced long and divided between the two syllables as in the case of the other Old High German geminates. Graphically this may be represented as follows: bigin-nan : siñ-ñan (singan), thus affording a satisfactory explanation for the frequent riming of ng with a double consonant.

Martin[1] arrives at this same conclusion for the Gudrun, because of the numerous rimes of nn : ng. His statement is as follows:

"Gem. dent. cons. : gem. gutt. cons. Diese Aussprache muss die Lautgruppe ng nach Ausweis ihrer Reime bereits gehabt haben."

As to the rimes of n with d, the following considerations will serve to show that they too were

[1] Gudrun, p. 20 XIV f. 2nd Ed. Note 1.

regarded by Otfrid as similar, and as such joined in rime:

I. As voiced dental consonants d and n are similar.

II. They occur frequently in rime together, a total of 65 times.

III. It can be proved that such rimes are intentional. Let us examine, for instance, with the aid of Ingenbleek[1] the rimes in the ending -an, which constitutes one of the most frequent rime endings.

It is found that there are 19 cases of -dan in suffix-rime of which 8 are identical rimes (i.e. -dan : -dan); thus leaving 11 instances of rime with other consonants. Now, of these 11, 7 or nearly 64% are rimes of -dan : -nan. If we examine the other rimes in -an, as for example those -tan, -gan, -ban, etc. we find them well represented, and in some cases occurring as often as the -nan rimes. Therefore if the rimes

1) Reimlexicon zu Otfrid, 2nd F. XXXVII, 47 f.

of -dan : -nan are merely accidental, and not intentional we expect to find -dan rining as freely, or nearly so, with other consonants as with -nan. As a matter of fact no other consonant appears a reasonable number of times in rime with -dan as compared with the rimes of -nan : -dan, so that we are justified in asserting that at least -dan and -nan are intentionally associated.

If, in like manner, we survey the rimes in -on we find 30 cases of -don in suffix rime of which 12 are identical, leaving 18 instances of rime with other consonants. Of this number, 10 or about 56% are rimes of -don : -non, so that there remain 8 cases of -don in rime with other consonants. Of other rimes in -on those in -ton, -ron, -gon, and -lon are frequent, and we ask again if chance ruled why should not the proportion of rimes of -don with other consonants approach more closely that of -non : -don?

The highest number of rimes of -don

combination than - non is 3, viz. that of - don : - gon. That is to say, out of the 35 times that - gon appears in rime with other consonants only one twelfth are - gon : - don. Upon comparing this with the rimes of - non : - don it will be seen that of the 50 rimes of - non with other consonants, 10 or one fifth are rimes of - non : - don, showing therefore more than twice as large a proportion in the latter case.

The question may be asked, how is it that of 50 rimes of - non only 10 are with - don, and should we not expect a greater percentage? What are the remaining 40 rimes of - non? Twenty-six are rimes of n with other nasals and liquids: 10 are with l, 10 with r, and 6 with m, so that the proportion of the - non : - don rimes is the same as that of the nasals and liquids, of which we have shown that Ælfric felt them as similar, and we may conclude that n and d must likewise have been regarded as similar consonants for purposes of rime.

It would be possible to go through various other rime endings, such as those in -es, -a, etc. and we should find that the rimes of d : n occur in much larger proportion than those of other consonants with d, even though the former were met with often in rime and might therefore be expected to occur as frequently as n in rime with d, or in the [illegible] ratio, were these rimes merely accidental. As this has been shown not to be the case, we may regard the point in question as proved.

In about [illegible] the of these rimes of d : n there is also rime of the penult. Cf. blîde : sîne, and Korgel[1], in classifying such rimes states under his fourth division:

"Der Vokal der vorhergehenden (i.e. penultimate) Silbe wird hereingezogen, zunächst ohne Berücksichtigung der zwischenstehenden Consonanz".

The above discussion of the rimes of our entire second

[1] Deutsche Litteraturgeschichte I, 2, 207 f.

class has shown this point of view to be incorrect, and serves to confirm Paul's opinion[1], which is as follows:

"Sobald diese Konsonanten (sc. initial consonants of the final syllables) einander wenigstens ähnlich sind, tragen sie doch zu schärferem Hervortreten des Reimes bei, und es zeigt sich daher auch, dass diese Ähnlichkeit in den meisten Fällen vorhanden ist, also erstrebt sein muss."

As regards our third class, in which the initial consonant of the final syllable is neither identical nor similar, as in such rimes as hôhe : dâte, bredige : rîdine, no special comment is called out. In passing we may note that it is the smallest of our three divisions, being represented by only 398 rimes, another evidence of Otfrid's careful regard for the ultimate syllable.

[1] Pb. [illegible]

Penultimate Rime.

Up to this point we have been discussing mainly the final syllable; we are now ready for a consideration of rime extending over two syllables, that is penultimate rime.

Accurate rimes of the above class, such as henti : enti are found in extensive use in Otfrid, and may be divided according to accent[1] into the following categories:

I. Both words have primary accent on the penultimate syllable. This comprises the rime of stem with stem.[2] cf. fóriò : icónò = 1618

II One penult has primary, the other secondary accent.

a) stem : stem, one word being compound. cf. wínnì : ádal-kùnnì = 233

b) stem : suffix syllable cf. mínnà : drûtìnnà = 117

III. Both penults have secondary accent.

a) compound : compound. cf. úmbi-therbi : ádal-èrbi

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1) Cf. for accent of words in rime position: P&Br., 2, 219; Sievers, PBBtr., 4, 525 f; 13, 121 f; Wilmanns, Z f d A., 16, 117 f; 27, 105 f; Beiträge zur älteren deutschen Litteratur, Heft 3, pp 1-129; Trautmann, Lachmanns Betonungsgesetze und Otfrids Verse, Halle, 1877; Behaghel, Gesch. d. deut. Sprache, p 689.

2) For such rimes as ságeti : hábti cf. ante penultimate rime.

B) compound: suffix syllable -éłan-ràiti : árabràiti = 5

Total 1979

Combining the examples found in these four divisions, there is a total of 1979 instances, or 27.7 % of Ct finds, are to be classed under the rubric of accurate penultimate rime, very little less than the rime of root syllables with each other, this being 29.2 %.

Considering suffix-rime alone, accurate penultimate rime forms about 39 % thereof, and as Books I and V contain the greatest amount of the former, there is more chance for accurate penultimate rime in them than in the remaining books; we therefore should expect them to show a larger percentage than that found elsewhere. The comparison is given below:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Suffix-rime	971	861	1084	1109	1066	5091
	28.2 %	69.2 %	68.8 %	70.6 %	72.4 %	71.7 %
Amount of suffix-rime included under acc. penult.-rime	333	346	431	421	448	1979
	34.3 %	40.2 %	39.8 %	40 %	42 %	39 %

The above tabulation shows that I contains 5.8 % more suffix rime than any of the other books; it should therefore comprise more accurate penultimate rime, but our

enumeration above informs that it includes even less, by 5.5 o/o, than any other book, whereas V shows approximately the expected proportion. It will be necessary to note, in the succeeding categories, any increase above the normal ratio in the part of I, in order to see in what class or classes of crimes its greater percentage makes its appearance.

At this point we may consider the question of rime on the part of the inseparable prefixes gi, bi and ir, as in gidâte : girâte, birînit : bricînit, irwellen : ir zellen. Grimm[1] speaks of these under the heading of "erweiterte Reime" as follows:

"Häufig reimen unter sich die zu einem Endreim gehörigen untrennbaren Partikeln: da sie aber niemals betont, vielmehr wenn sie zur Senkung an dieser Silbe nicht dienen, ganz verschluckt werden, so kann man nur eine leichte Zuthat zu dem Reim darin erblicken."

He believes that such prefixes, when found together, serve as a slight addition to the rime, and that their agreement was aimed at.

Paul[2] denies all such intention, holding this agreement to be merely accidental and of little importance. This latter is probably the correct view as far as the prefixes ir and bi are concerned, for as such

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1) "Zur Geschichte des Reims" in Kleinere Schriften 4, 214 f.

2) PBr 2, 963, 19, 21

rimes as birînit : biscînit, irwellen : irzellen, occur only eight or ten times in each case in the entire poem, the probability that the identity is merely accidental is so great that no intention can be asserted, especially as both prefixes occur frequently in rime in other combinations. With the prefix gi, however, we have a different state of affairs:

I. Rimes like girâti : gidâte are numerous, there being a total of 96.

II. The rime of gi- : gi- appears as a phenomenon in all three types of rimes, whether it be a) root syllable rime, as gisah : gimah, b) penultimate rime, as giwagi : giwagi, or c) antepenultimate, as giredenôt : gibrediget; whereas the few identical rimes of bi and ir are all found in penultimate rime.

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1) The rime of past part. : past part. is excluded from consideration, as gi would naturally occur here in both words, and so furnish an illustration of rime-parallelism. Cf. Vos, Rim-parallelism in O.H.G. [illegible]

III From a consideration of some of the rimes in which gi figures it can be seen that Otfrid consciously chose in the one case a form in gi when another form without it was at hand and would have served the purpose as well, in order to secure this agreement.

Let us look, for instance, at the rime gisah : gimah which appears nine times. (I 8.2 I 9.32; II 6.49; 9.59; III 20.104; III 20.28, 20.147; V 8.19; 12.46;) The form of gimah must remain invariable, but instead of gisah the simple form sah might have been used without changing the meaning of the line, or affecting its sense in any way. That sah : gimah never occurs points to the fact that the poet employed the compound verb in order to effect rime of the prefix in addition to that of the root-syllable.

Likewise, the adverbial phrase in girihti, which appears twelve times in rime, stands in five cases rimed with forms in gi. Three of these are with gisihti (III 26.58; IV 1.54; V 23.177), one with giknihti (IV 8.22), and one with the verb gislihti (IV 4, 34), of which the uncompounded form does not occur in Otfrid. These [illegible] adverbial

phrase in richtî which has, according to Piper[2], precisely the meaning of in girichtî, viz. "straightway", and if the correspondence of the gi forms is not aimed at, why do we not have this in richtî rhyming with the above words instead of in girichtî?

The adjective ginuagi, in one or the other of its inflectional forms appears three times in rime with the verb gifuagan. The latter has an uncompounded form fuagan of like meaning; which is rejected here in order to bring the agreement of the prefixes into play: These three rimes are found in III 14.71; V 12.68; V 25.90.

So too, in the rime ginuagi : gifiangi (III 16.74), where exists the simple form of the verb fiangi, but again we have the compound form for the reason above given!

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1) The majority of the rimes of this type are of verbs, such as gihaltan : giwaltan, which exist in both simple and compound forms, or both rimes are such as have only the gi forms, as giburt : giwurt, so that nothing can be proved from them.

2) Otfrids Evangelienbuch, II. Theil, Glossar und Abriss

The adjective gumuag appears in rime ten times; of which
arr with gumuag (pret. sg. of guwahan). Here too the
agreement seems to be sought for, in addition to the
rime of the accented syllable, for Alfred has other
rimes in -uag, such as druag, sluag, and thana-
thuag, which would probably have been used in this
case were the above statement not correct.

We are therefore justified in concluding that
wherever we find in rhyming words the prefix ge used
with each, its presence is intentional, and no doubt
is to be explained as a slight addition to the rime of the
accented syllable or syllables.

This conclusion would lead us to the point of view
that the plan of operation of our author was: the more
agreement there is, the more rime we have, and we
shall bear this statement in mind in order to see
whether it is confirmed in the discussions that are to
follow.

Turning now to the consideration of inaccurate
pure stressed rime as they

isions:

I. The vowel or diphthong of the penult is identical, but there is some consonantal inaccuracy: cf. guatum: stuantum, waltan: stantan.

II. The penultimate vowel or diphthong is not wholly identical, but contains some element of identity, with occasionally an inaccuracy in the consonant.
cf. quate: drûte; liuti: riati, thurfti: rafti.

III. The penultimate vowel or diphthong is different.
cf. harto: worto; wuntar: altar; Zîti: nôti.

Class I may be divided into the two following sub-divisions:

A. The penult ends in a consonant, the other in a vowel or diphthong, and

B. The penults ends in consonants that are not identical, but are either a) similar or b) dissimilar.

As examples under A may be cited such words as riatum: giziartum; gimeinti: chuankeiti; guatum: stuantum. This is not a large category, containing 97 runes, which occur in the various books

follows:	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
	16	23	19	22	17	97
	1.60%	2.7%	1.8%	1.9%	1.5%	1.9%

As the above percentages show, the ratio between the books is not far from normal, though I and V should show a higher percentage, particularly the former, as they contain the largest amount of suffix-rime. The most noteworthy feature of this class of rime is that in two thirds of them the extra consonant is either a nasal or liquid — n and r are especially common, the former occurring 20 the latter 22 times[1]. The reason for this predominance of nasal and liquid is most likely to be found in the fact that they, as the most sonorous consonants, would blend with, or at least offer less hindrance to, the rime of the vowels. This consideration seems to have influenced Alfred in his selection of rime words, for there is a tendency to re-

1) The others are l 12, m 1; of consonants that are not nasals or liquids are found: t 7, h 6, and others occurring only once each.

struct these latter to certain rime groups where the consonants in question appear. Of hôrti : nôti (II 5.19; III 17.30; IV 13.52; IV 24.2), gihôrta : werknôta (III 20.169), and hôrtun : erdnôtun (III 12.9). Quati : stuanti (I 2.10; III 13.58; 15.21; IV 15.56; IV 30.12; 36.13). Bita : îlta (III 24.40; V 7.56, 65) and bîtun : îltun (V 4.10; 5.4). Îltî : Zîti (I 22.2; IV 4.11; 16.7). Fuarta : quata (I 15.11; II 4.51). Other instances might be given, and would serve to show the effort to secure a sonorous consonant for the rime penult, as it would not disturb the vocalic agreement or rime.

Other rimes that may be mentioned here also, are those in which the initial consonants of the penults are identical. In a discussion further on the attempt will be made to show that this identity was sought for, as an additional element of rime in the penultimate syllable. Those to be classed under I A are:
mînne : wunnine (I 4.50); abahôtun : gihôrtun (III 93 24.110); giscôta : scolta (IV 3.20); bibinôta : nôtta (IV 34.1).

Sub-division B of Class I consists of such rimes as waltan : stantan, thuhti : wurti, [illegible] : [illegible], etc.

It exceeds the preceding class in number, comprising a total of 158 rimes, which are divided in the following way:

I	II	III	IV	V	Total
34	28	37	33	26	158
3.4%	3.1%	3.4%	3%	2.4%	3.1%

Book I approaches more closely to the percentage we should expect from the amount of its suffix rime, than A, but V shows fewest instances of all, contrary to our expectations.

A peculiarity of this class also is the frequency with which the result ends in a nasal or liquid. Only in 28 rimes of the entire 158 are consonants other than these used, and 10 of these are found in Book I.

In such rimes therefore as wa<u>n</u>t : halt<u>e</u>n we may assume intention to rime not only the penultimate vowels but also the consonants, in this case <u>n</u> and <u>l</u>, ending this syllable. That is to say we have a state of things similar to that already discussed in the rime of final syllables. In the latter case, when not identical, the initial consonants of these syllables are usually similar.

rime of nasals and liquids with one another being very frequent, as in scôni : wâri. In the present instance, when we do not get an accurate penultimate rime such as is henti : enti, there is an effort to produce such rimes as wartên : haltên, where the penultimate consonants are similar, being nasals or liquids, and where their voiced character assists the vowels in the rime, rather than hinders it as other voiceless dissimilar consonants would do. Rimes of l : n are especially numerous, appearing 63 times, and also of l : r, showing 37 instances. No rime of l : m is found in this class; the others are: n : r 18, n : m 10; r : m 2. The order of frequency of these consonants in rime is: l 100 times, n 91, r 57, m 12. Here the condition of affairs is very similar to the statistic given under the Ultima, in discussing nasals and liquids in the final syllable. That is to say, l and n seem to be regarded as most similar, l and r next, and l and m least similar of all. The only difference in the present case is that ten of the [illegible]

1) To these must, of course, be added the twenty-eight refer[illegible]

are with n where we should expect, proportional to the total number of n rimes, only six. This, therefore, indicates m and n as the most similar of all the nasals and liquids, whereas in the class referred to above the statistic showed m and r as most similar to each other, but as m and n came second with very little difference, it seems most likely that the latter was really regarded as most similar for rime purposes.

In this division we may also observe the tendency toward riming certain words together so often that they may be said to form rime-pairs, in so far as the stem of the word is concerned.

For example, of the rimes of l : n may be mentioned the following:

1. Some inflectional form of gimeinn : some form of dreilon (bb). cf. gimeinta : (i)dreilta (II 1.33, III 6.41; IV 7.71, 19.69); gimeintum : idreiltun (IV 6.15); gimeinte : idreilti (II 12.78); gimeintin : gidreiltin (IV 28.4). Other rimes from these same stems, which may be noticed here, although not belonging to this

the penult does not end in a consonant, are: gimeine (vb): deile (vb) (II 13.32; V 20.64); gimeinit: indeilit (II 9.20; III [illegible]; II 12.84); gimeini (adj): undeili (noun) (III 16.46; I 20.2). These latter rimes are mentioned in this connection in order to show that that it is not merely inflectional forms that Otfrid associates but the words themselves.

2. Some form of gimeinen (vb): some form of heilen (vb) cf. gimeinta: heilta (II 24.9; III 4.37; 14.84; 16.34; IV 2.1; [illegible], 15).

gimeinti: heilti (III 2.6; 3.6; [illegible], and also five rimes of gimeini (adj): heili (noun).

3. giwelti: hentí (I 7.13; 16.28; II 4.85; 13.30; IV 11.8) and

4. giwelti: enti (I 15.37; 28.6; V 6 [illegible]; 2[illegible])

5. Zalta: irkanta (I 13.23; II 7.62, 69; 12.11) and others.

Examples of n: r are not so numerous, though there are a number occurring only twice. cf. also wurtun: biforrtun (I 8.5; V 6.26; 23.281)

Of n: m stimna: minna (I 9.11; III 22.22; IV 33.16; V 12.57), and minna: stimna (II 13.12; IV 21.34; V 12.94; 20.66).

Of £ : £ cf. thulti : antwurti (III 17.38; 18.37; 22.35; IV 19.41; 23.34; V 20.81), and thulti : wurti (III 19.25; IV 10.4; 15.44).

2. Some form of helfan (vb) : werfan[1] (vb). cf werfet : giwelfet (II 11.33); helfit : firwirfit (II 17.8); gihelfin : warfin (III 18.70); gihelfe : firwerfe (III 4.24; 17.16)

3. Some form of wartin (vb) : haltan (vb). cf wartin : haltin (I 29.9; II 4.59); wartis : haltes (I 19.12); gewartent : gihaltent (III 19.10).

4. harto : managfalto (IV 9.29, 32; 26.25).

This does not by any means exhaust the list of rime groups, but the above are sufficient to show to what extent they occur, and the explanation of their frequency is at hand; namely, because these rimes between nasals and liquids were regarded as good, and two words of this sort having once been used [illegible].

[1] The rimes of helfan, werfan afford an interesting illustration of how Otfrid associates the words themselves together and not many inflectional forms; for in the above the same words are rimed together five times, in four of which the stem vowel is changed.

gether were likely to call forth one another whenever afterwards employed.

There are seven rimes, belonging under this category, that have the initial consonant identical, and they may be noted here, to bear witness later on to the fact that this identity was sought for. They are: gikundti : kunfti (I 23.6; IV 18.34); gihelfe : irheffe (II 17.17); werke : irwelke (III 7.67); eisconti : scolti (III 15.38); giluihta : iniuhta (III 20.146); int fuarta : fualta (IV 31.34).

Having finished the discussion of our first main class, we may now take up II, in which the penultimate vowel or diphthong is not identical, but contains some element of identity, with occasionally a consonantal inaccuracy. For convenience we may further divide this class into two parts:

1. The vowel of one penult : 1 element of the diphthong of the other penult.

α. The vowel rimes with first element, cf. liuti : 2îti = 29

β " " " " second " , cf. wâra : fiara = 123

Total 152

The riming of the vowel is, in over two-thirds of

with the second part of the diphthong'.

2. One element of one diphthong: one element of the other diphthong.

α. The first element: first element. cf. liuti: riati = 19

β. " " " : second " cf. liuti: giuati = 38

γ. " second " : " " cf. fiarta: ruarta = 29

Total = 80

As we have falling diphthongs in Old High German we should expect, as a rule, to find the first, or most strongly stressed, parts of the diphthongs rhyming together, but from a glance at the above it may be seen that this is the smallest of the three divisions. The reason for at least sub- ... Y's so frequent appearance will be clear when one considers that 19 of its 29 rimes are of ua: ia, that is, rimes in which the second components of the diphthong can most

1) There is nothing surprising, however, in this, for over half the rimes under β, i.e. 49, are of â: ua (60) or â: ia (29). As a is the "hellste Vokal" in German it is much better adapted to carrying the rime than either the u or i in the above diphthongs; so that although the stress of voice is upon the first element of the diphthong, yet the second element i.e. a is the most sonorous and therefore the most suitable for

the rime, they bring more sonorous than the [illegible] elements. We may assume then that sonority of the vowel is of more importance in the rime of diphthongs than mere stress, as this is the teaching of a and y', but it is a more difficult task to explain why b should be the most numerously represented of all three categories. A consideration of two points, however, will serve to show that rime of the penult was undoubtedly intended, not only with regard to sub-class b but in all examples included under our main division II:

A. In additional to the vocalic agreements, the initial consonant of the penult is sometimes identical. These cases are: under 1: lîbr : lîebr (IV 37.14; V 20.45; 23.55, 188); lîbr : liabr (III 14.8; V 20.39); lîbro : liobo (I 16.20); wîsôn : wisôn (I 18.24; IV 15.47); lûto : luito (IV 24.13; IV 26.5); lûti : luiti (IV 33.22); wâre : fihuwiari (III 4.3); sâzi : suazi (IV 4.16; 5.30); qifartîn : fuartîn (IV 35.25); qminati : manmunt.

Under 2 dre : inliuhte : liahte (I 12.4); liobo : qilouben (III [illegible]

1) cf. also 1B and note.

hibta : hubta (V 11.43); hubi : gihoubi (V 7.4; 20.44); gihibun : gihoubun (I 26.11; III 26.12); huti : gihoubti (II .); huti : bûtlouft (II .

. . We have again certain rime groups, which would hardly continue to appear so often, were the rime not intended and felt in these cases as, at least permissible.

Only a few will be cited. Under 1 are: wâru (adj or vb.) : gifuari (noun or verb) 5; wâra (adj) : fuara (noun) 5; wâru : fuaru 1; wârûn (vb): fuarûn (vb) 2; wârun (vb): fuarun (vb) 5; Quati : dâti 15; huti or some inflectional form thereof : Iti or some form thereof 5; hiare : thâre 3; firliari : sâri 3.

Of those under 2 may be mentioned, according to frequency: gifiarta : ruarta 6; huti : gimuati 4; huti : quati 4; hibe : hieb 4; louft : anarnafti 3 and others.

In order to gain a clear idea as to how the rimes of the sub-classes 1 and 2 are divided in the various books, all instances belonging under the main class II are given below:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
1) Vv: 1 Element diph.	21	17	36	39	26	139
2) 1 Element diph.: 1 El. diph.	12	10	16	18	12	68
extra cons in 1 penult 1.	3	2	3	2	3	25
extra cons in 1 penult 2.	0	5	3	4	0	
	36	34	58	63	41	Total. 232
	3.6%	3.8%	5.2%	5.4%	3.7%	4.4%

Here two do not get the larger percentage in I and V to be expected from the larger amount of their suffixes, but even a somewhat less frequent use than elsewhere. In stating this second main classification of an occasional consonantal inaccuracy appearing in the penult. As seen from the enumeration above, this inaccuracy takes the form of an extra consonant in one penult, as in qiuiagi: giungi, qimuati: mammunti etc., and plays only a minor rôle, forming not quite one-ninth of the total number. Of these twenty-four instances, the extra consonant is a nasal or liquid in four-fifths of the case, thus

1) most frequently n = 8 or m = 8; l = 4. No case of m

again demonstrating the preference for these.

The emphasis that has been laid, in the present and preceding classes, upon the rime of the nasals and liquids, or upon a redundant consonant being of this nature, has doubtless been noted; this method of procedure was followed because it served to show that such consonants, as proved by the preference with which they were used, interfered very little with the rime of the vowels because of their sonorous character, which blended more easily with that of the vowels than other consonants would. One is justified therefore, in assuming that Otfrid sought such rimes and that they were favored by him.

Likewise, rime-groups have been brought forward in each class, in proof of the fact that, although more or less inaccurate, the rimes of the above classes were in good standing, otherwise such collocations would not not appear so often, cf. for instance quâte : dâte, which occurs 15 times.

We are now led up

main category, where the penultimate vowels are different. This brings up the question as to whether it is possible for these vowels to be different, and yet the rime of the penult be maintained. We may make three sub-divisions of this class:

1. The penult ends in a vowel or diphthong. cf. dâte : nôte.

2. One " " " " " " " ; the other in a consonant. cf. quati : hôrte.

3. The penult ends in a consonant, which may be

a) identical. cf. harto : worto.

B) not identical { 1. Similar. cf. wuntar : altar.
2. dissimilar. krefti : mahti.

In discussing the above question it seems more advisable to start with sub-class 3, as clearer and more satisfactory results can be thus arrived at.

Let us consider first, then, 3 a, where the final consonant of the penultimate syllable is identical. The following five statements serve to show that we are justified in assuming intentional rime in the present case:

I. The rimes occur frequently, 662 in all —

about 13% of the total amount of

II. There is a marked tendency to end the penult in a nasal or liquid i.e. sonorous consonant.

III. In addition to the final consonant of the [illegible], its initial consonant is often identical, thus heightening the rima effect. of mimno : manno. The total is 66 rimes.

IV. The rimes of both the worto : harto and munnon : mannon types were in good standing because they are arranged in rime groups, which are so often met with that their claim to rime can not be denied any more than there can be doubt of conscious effort in riming them.

V. It can be shown in the majority of cases that the vowels of the penults themselves though not identical are not arranged at haphazard with reference to each other, but that there is a tendency to rime the vowels most similar and sonorous with one another, thus bringing both consonant and vowel into

Let us retrace our steps and take up the discussion of I. The examples are found as follows in the various [illegible] [illegible] other classes.

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Types:						
harto : worto	95	120	127	132	122	596
mimo : manno	16	9	14	18	9	66
	111	129	141	150	131	662
Proportion of Suffix-rimes	11.4%	15%	13.1%	13.7%	12.4%	13%

Book II and, more especially, I again fall short, as in all other classes thus far treated, of the amount we should expect in view of their larger percentage of suffix rimes, and it will be interesting to note where their larger proportion is coming in.

Under II, the proportion of rimes in which the final consonants of the penults are nasal or liquids to that in which they are not is 459 : 20[illegible], which is a proof of how [illegible] the former were. l and r are the most frequent, the former occurring 186, the latter 158 times; n is found in 114 rimes, but strange to say no rimes of m are present in the [illegible], although it has been noted in the previous classes, m [illegible]

1) Of the non-sonorous consonants there are 85 cases of rimes in s and 72 in t

used than the other nasals or liquids.

As has been already suggested, Otfrid seems to operate upon the principle that the more sonority there is in a syllable the greater will be the rime effect produced. This fact may be illustrated by such rimes as rôte : kôrte where the extra consonant, being predominantly sonorous, far from hindering the rime of the vowels actually increases the same through its sonority.

Similarly, in the rime of a vowel with a diphthong, as in dâte : guati, although diphthongs are stressed most heavily on the first element in Old High German, yet in the majority of these rimes the vowel rimes with the second element, it being the most sonorous part in most cases. Such rimes as lûte : guati with the first element, are rare, and thus we see again the effort to rime the most sonorous parts together.

III. The rimes in which the initial consonant is identical include 66 instances, in all of which this identity must be regarded as striven for, as an accessory to the rime of the penult: 1) Because this same feature is

already been noted in other categories of rimes, and will also be pointed out in classes not yet discussed. To mention in anticipation one other class outside of penultimate rime where this identity is found, there is, in antepenultimate rime, a type of rime obana : thanana, occurring 42 times, and belonging to the same type but with the initial consonant identical are such rimes as thanana : thegana, 16 instances, of which the latter rime constitutes 12. In obana : thanana there is really no identity of the antepenult, whereas in thanana : thegana this syllable is brought into rime by means of its identical initial consonant. The proportion of the latter to the former class, constituting about one-third, is too great to admit of the identity being explained as due to accident; it is therefore to be regarded as conscious effort to bring the antepenult into rime. In the minno : manno type rime may be already [illegible] on the basis of the identical final consonant of the penult, and now we become aware of a plan for securing

sible in the syllable – a plan that we already have seen in operation in the rime of the prefixes gi : gi. cf. girûnt : giscûnt. The ratio of the minno : manno to the harto : worto rimes is about 1 : 9, which, with the evidence above given, is sufficient to prove the point.

2) Because there is a marked tendency to use these rimes in groups, showing that the rime was pleasing enough to bear repetition again and again. cf. minno : manno 1, munnôn : mannon 9; worton : ewartôn 9, worte : êwarte 1; worto : widarworto 2, worton : widarwortôn 2; rehte : rihte 3; wor te : antwurte 3; lante : elilente 3, lante : ilente 1; wolti : giwelti 2, irwolle : irwelle 1, wollent : wellent 1, wollat : wellat 1; others might be quoted, occurring once or twice and showing their same identity in the above rimes.

Fourthly, it was stated, as proof that the rimes of 3d were intentional and respectable, that, as already pointed out in a part of this class i.e. minno : manno rimes, they are found so often in rime groups that intention may be assumed. A few of these are worto : harte 47,

dreehatin : mahtin[1] 27 ; wizzi : muzzi 10 ; follon : willon 22 ;
willen (nom) : fullen (ac) 16 ; festi : brusti ; alle : folle 9 ;
nahtes ; rehtes 5 ; festi . fust 6 ; thanne : zellenne 3 ;
thanne ; thârinne 3 ; herton : worton 5.

1/ cf. Refrain V 23.

This can be defended [illegible]
in Both N. T. as [illegible]
thing as N. unpersons N.

Grimm[1] places the runes of the minno : manno type under the rubric of identical, and they are called in the Grundriss "rührender ungenauer Reim". Grimm, however, at the beginning of his investigation defines rührende runes as follows:

"Rührender Reim setzt völlige Gleichheit aller Buchstaben voraus"; so that it appears he has departed from his definition with regard to these runes. The discussion of such instances, as given above, has presented them in a different light, and has served to show that they are not to be regarded as identical runes, but should be classified as inaccurate penultimate runes, constituting a somewhat more advanced stage than the harto : horto type, the two being of the same nature; that also this identity was conscious, forming part of a plan for securing as much agreement as possible in the riming syllables. It may be objected that, if this latter remark be true, then Otfrid's conception of

1) Altdeutsche Literatur 4, 160.

accurate rime would be identical rime. While such a statement would be too strong, yet Otfrid cannot be said to manifest any avoidance of identical rime, as 4½ o/o of the entire poem consists thereof. If this proportion be compared with the amount found, for instance, in Hartman von Aue, it will be seen that identical covers considerably more ground in Otfrid than in the Middle High German poet, or in fact in any of the great masters of this latter period[2].

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[1] Erec, the longest of his poems and at the same time the one containing the greatest percentage of identical rime contains only 2.2 7o. cf. Vos, The Diction and Rime-technic of Hartman von Aue, Publ. of Mod. Lang. Assoc. Amer. Vol. XIII, p. 287 f.

[2] cf. Grimm, Kleinere Schriften 4, p. 131 f.; and Otto Behaghel, Heinrichs v. Veldeke Eneide, Einleitung p. 114.

We are now brought up to our fifth point of proof that the runic of the harto : worto and minno : manno type were regarded as good - namely, that there is an effort to unite together those vowels that are most sonorous and similar to each other. From Grützner[1] and Sievers[2] we learn that a is the "reiner Vokal" and that u and i are the "Grenzen des Vokals".

Sievers remarks further as follows:

"Beim a ist der Mundcanal durchgehende mässig geöffnet. Die Zunge entfernt sich nicht weit aus ihrer Indifferenzlage. Bei i und u (wrdgn) dagegen durch kräftigere Artikulation bedeutendere Engen im Ansatzrohr hervorgebracht, die Artikulation nähert sich also mehr derjenigen der Consonanten"; i.e. these latter two are the two least sonorous vowels, the most sonorous being represented by a. Both authorities exhibit the relation between the various vowels thus: i - ɛ - a - o - u.

1/ Handbuch der Physiologie der Bewegungsapparate.

2/ Sievers' Phonetik, p 78

That is to say, in passing from a to i one goes through e as a middle stage, and likewise in reaching u from a. The mid-stage is o. O and e would therefore represent more sonority than i and u, and there would be more similarity between them and a, especially in the case of e, than between i or u and a. If, then, we examine the rimings pertaining to 3 a, with the above facts in mind, what can be said of these vowels and what conclusions do we reach?

First, with regard to the vowel a, 152 of the 344 instances of a are rimed with o. That is to say, nearly one-half of the total number of rimes a, the vowel occurring most frequently, are with o, and almost a fourth of the 662 rimes of this class is composed of rimes between these two vowels. Both are mid-back vowels, the only difference being that o is rounded where a is a simple vowel. They are therefore the two most similar and sonorous of the vowels, and their frequency in rime together in such cases as herte : worte

is thus explained and may be regarded as intentional.
Nor can it be objected that this frequency is due to mere accident, or to the fact that a, being the vowel most often found in these rimes, would naturally occur more often with o than the latter with vowels used less frequently, for proportional to the total number of times a occurs, it should rime with o only 65 times whereas in reality we have 172, ca. over twice as many. This, then, shows that there is something more than mere chance in operation, and that the rime of a : o is aimed at.

This same effort can be illustrated in the case of other vowels that are similar, though perhaps not so clearly and forcibly as in the collocation above. For instance, a : ę 79 times, this being, after a : o, the most frequent rime of a, while as regards ę the latter vowels is found most often of all with it in rime. Though the similarity is not as great as in the former case, still it may be considered as sufficient as they are both simple mid vowels, ę being back and ę a

front vowel. Furthermore, ę is third in order of sonority, the sequence being represented by a-o-ę-i-u. So that, it appears also in this instance, the riming of a : ę is to be explained as in the preceding case.

Sixty-three rimes of ę : i are found, and with regard to these we may remark that both are simple-front vowels, but differ in that the former is a mid, the latter a high vowel. In passing from a : i, ę represents the middle stage and the similarity seems strong enough for purposes of rime.

There occur 79 cases of i : u, these two vowels being rimed more often with each other than with any other vowel, despite the fact that they are the least sonorous vowels and have little similarity. At first view it seems as if the explanation offered above will not answer here, but upon examining these rimes we find that in 47, i.e. over half of them, the consonant immediately preceding the i is w. Cf. iwritan : gibuntan, fullr : wille. The effect of the w is a rounding of the i, thus causing the production of a sound similar enough to u to be used in rime with it.

In the vowels rining together most extensively we may therefore see a similarity, and as this likeness decreases there is a corresponding decrease in the number of times that such vowels are used together. For instance, a : i 46, e : o 40, i : o 33 times, which figures are (even) less than we should expect in proportion to the total number of times that the vowels concerned appear in rime. On the other hand, similar vowels rine together usually about twice as often as the proportion to their total number of occurrences would lead us to expect.

If this investigation of penultimate vowels should be extended so as to include all classes of penultimate rime where the vowel is not identical, the above results would remain substantially the same.

The rimes found to the greatest extent are a : o, a : e, e : i and i : u; in the case of the last mentioned rime the numerous instances may be explained as due to a similarity between them, in many cases, produced by the presence of a preceding w with one of the

Furthermore, there are in most cases twice as many of these rimes than would be found if due to accident or if properly equally divided; this therefore that there was intention in such rime. Likewise, the more unlike vowels occur less often together than can be justified or explained in any other way than that this avoidance was a conscious one.

Let us next take up the sub-class B of the above division, in which the consonant ending the penult is not identical, but either 1) similar, cf. wuntar : altar, or 2) dissimilar, cf. krefti : mahti. Nearly the same proofs may be applied here, in support of penultimate rime, as in sub-class a: I. Though not constituting as large as a class as the former, these rimes are not infrequent. There are found 169 examples in the various Books, as follows:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
1) nasal or liquid	29	35	36	33	25	169
2) not " " "	6 / 35	2 / 37	0 / 36	3 / 36	0 / 25	

It should be noted that 6 of the 11 rimes in which the consonants ending the penults are dissimilar are in Book I. The percentage of this Book is slightly higher for the entire class than that in any other Book except II, but in neither the former book nor in V do we find as large a proportion as would be expected in consideration of the amount of these suffix rimes.

II. The penult syllable ends regularly in a nasal or liquid, i.e. sonorous syllable. Only 11 instances of other consonants are found. The rime of r : n is quite common, 92 times; less frequent is l : n = 26, and l : r = 22. The rime of m is rare, occurring only in 4 cases, which agrees with previous statements in other classes as to its infrequency.

III. In addition to the similarity of the final consonant the initial consonant of the penult is sometimes identical. This identity, as already demonstrated, was striven for. The instances are: werkôn : birwarkôn (II 4.88; 23.11); antwurten : wurten (IV 7.22; 9.5); milti : manmunti (II 16.5; III 14.111; 19.12); wurtum : wortun (II 24.9); giborge : belge (II 18.13;

giburge : âbrulge (I 23.40); warmôn : warnôn (II 3.56); funtan : infaltan (II 7.55); gisihti : wahsenti (I 23.44).

IV. Notwithstanding the small size of the class, rime-groups are present, showing that such rime as wrentar : altar was acceptable to Otfrid.

Cf. manno : germo 9; milti : antwurti 8; some form of findan : some form of werdan 6; some form of thenkon : some form of wirken 15; some form of githanko (noun) : some form of werko (noun) 13; managfalto : worto 4, and others of less frequent appearance.

V. The tendency to rime the most similar and sonorous consonants may still be observed. Also the rime of i and u is again frequent, but it should be noted that in 12, out of a total of 18 rimes, u is preceded by w, whereas in the preceding class it was i that was rounded by this consonant.

The above five statements serve to show that in Class B there is penultimate rime, consisting in the rime of similar final consonants and like vowels, with occasionally the additional agreement of the initial consonant

kennett.

Having finished the discussion of 3 a and 3 we are now prepared to take up 1 and 2 of the same main category, i.e. III. These two may be treated together as [illegible] so small a class. The statistics are:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
1. cf. dâti : nôti	45	43	76	94	81	339
2. ǧizîti : martîn	15	5	10	10	6	46
	60	48	86	104	87	385
	6.1%	5.6%	7.9%	9.4%	8.2%	[illegible]

As shown above, there is a redundant consonant in one penult in 46 instances. cf ǧuatî : hôrtî, dâti : hôrti. These latter do not interfere with the penultimate rime but rather add to it because in all except 8 cases [illegible] consonants are nasals or liquids, and are therefore sonorous elements. Of these, n and r are most numerous, the former occurring 18, the latter 17 times. Only 3 instances of l are found and none of m. There is, then, a tolerably frequent appearance of rime of this nôti : dâti class, and though V contains its approximate proportion, I is still found wanting.

The tendency to group the rimes around certain words is extremely marked, as in other classes. Thus there occur: nôte : dâte 31; some form of nôt : some form of lint 14; nôte : Zîte 16; nôte : muati 12; nôte : quati 12; qinôto : thrâto 8; nôte : arabiti 5; wâra : lêra 12; wâra : mêra 18; some form of wâr : some form of duiri 6; dâte : liuti 12; gidâtun (vb) : rictun (vb) 7; dâte : Zîti 3; quato : arabito 7 (cf V.23.); quati : hêrôti 3; quate : gibiete (vb.) 3, and others.

The initial consonant of the penult is sometimes identical, though less frequently than in the classes already discussed. The rimes are: dôte : gidâte (V 7.41); dôtun : indâtun (V 34.3); girâte : hêrôti (III 25.21); mâru : armôru (I 7.10); ungimez en gamezen (V 10.24); mâron : mêron (III 7.86); sârz : sêrz (IV 34.19); scônaz : scînaz (I 17.19); liek : gilouk (V 23.211); suntilôsan : firliasan (IV 26.22); ginomanan : minan (V 7.29).

A glance at the above rime groups shows how numerous the rimes are of [illegible] in its inflectional forms with forms of dât, liut, Zît etc, as also the rimes between wâra or some form of wâr and lêra, mêra etc; [illegible]

dât, guatî and others of less frequent occurrence.

The question now presents itself, how can these extremely common rimes, such as nôte : dâtî, be explained if one is not willing to admit rime of the penult here? Tesch[1] has observed that nearly all the instances of nôte, wâra etc, used so frequently in the above rime groups, occur in rime in adverbial phrases as mere rime padding, neither adding to nor detracting from the sense of the line. If then such a rime as nôte : dâtî were not considered good by our author, why did he use this collocation so constantly? It could at best be explained only on the supposition that there were few rimes in -âtî to rime with dâte and hence this makeshift. From Consulting Ingenbleek's Lexikon, however, such rimes are found plentifully, it therefore appears that the rime of nôte : dâte was not forced upon the poet but evidently selected. By this is not meant that nôte does not occur in rime

[1] Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Evangelienbuches von Otfrid, p. 91, [illegible]

with other words in -ôte, for it does though not as frequently as with the word under discussion.

Likewise wâra and its other forms are common rimes used in adverbial phrases as a pure rime expedient, and if we ask ourselves the reason for its frequency of rime with such a word as lêra or nêra, a reference to Ingenbleek again shows that it was not a case of compulsion, but a question of choice of this rime. Other rimes in -êra occur often enough, and could have been used in place of wâra were it felt as objectionable.

It seems plain, therefore, that we must accept rime of the penult in this class of words, and an investigation of the riming penultimate vowels will strengthen this point of view, as the most similar vowels are found in rime together, just as in the preceding category where this question was sufficiently discussed. It may be added, however, that of rimes between a diphthong and vowel, as in quati : nôti, the most frequent rime is of ua : ô i.e. 43 instances, in which we may consider whether the o

ŭ as riming, or ô and ă, both parts of the diphthong being similar to the riming vowel in question.

It can not be denied that there may be found such instances as liŭti : dâte, ziŭ : nôte with tolerable frequency (ca. 23 and 16 times respectively), where there is little similarity between the vocalic elements, but in the majority of cases the aim to rime similar vowels can be noticed and intention assumed. As soon, therefore, as we get the type ziŭ : nôte, both words having primary accent and long vowels, I believe that we have the inception of penultimate rime, for certainly such instances as scônaz : scônaz must be looked upon as rime, and though these are rare as compared to the total number of this class, they nevertheless show one of the first steps. Then secondly comes the nôte : dâti type, where the similarity of the vowels and their sonority constitutes the rime, and points the way to the final stage, i.e. identity of the vowels and accurate penultimate rime, cf. dâte : spâte.

In the discussion of penultimate rime thus far we have found the final syllable always identical, but we are now to turn our attention to such rimes in which the initial consonant of the ultima is different although its vowel is the same. This latter constitutes a much smaller class than the preceding, the ratio being about $16\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

We may distinguish two divisions:

1). The initial consonants of the ultima are similar, cf. hâra : 2âla, and 2). The initial consonants are not similar. cf. lôbr : sîns.

The total number of penultimate rimes comprised under 1 is 355, thus forming over one-half of the entire amount of the former rimes in which the final syllable is not identical. The rimes included under 1 are of nasals and liquids, and of d : n. They are given below in order of frequency:

l : n 94; ng : n 62; d : n 54; m : n 31; l : r 31; n : r 30; m : r 22, l : ng 14; d : ng 10; l : m 5; ng : m 2

These rimes have been discussed at length under Ultima,

where similarity in rimes, such as d : _ , which might be doubted, was made perfectly evident; it is therefore not necessary to discuss this point again at this place. As to the way in which the rimes are divided, will appear from the following statement below:

I	II	III	IV	V	Total
84	65	73	46	87	355

The larger amount in I and V is no doubt explained by their greater proportion of suffix rime in general than the other books; in Class I, that is where the final syllable is identical, we found these two books usually lagging behind their companions in point of frequency of rimes, although we expected them to forge ahead for the reason above given; we therefore are able to see that it is in this class, at least in part, that their greater percentage, so long awaited, makes its appearance.

As in the preceding Class, rime-groups still hold their own here, a few of which may be noted, from the various divisions of this main Class.

Some inflectional form of sîn (poss. pron): some form of blîde (adj) 12; thînên : mêdên 11; thanne : alle 15; manne : alle 5; some form of nennen : some form of zellen 8; some form of gineinen : deilen 7; gineine : heilê 7; some form of mâre : some form of seltsâni 8; quâmen : wârun 9; meina : gouma 4; êra : sêla 7; mêra : sêla 6; some form of biginnan : some form of thingen 5; some form of biginnan, some form of ringan 7; gange : thanne 6; sindge : heiming e 4. The above were cited in order to show the frequency with which a certain rime group is repeated in this small class of 355 instances. An examination of them will also bring out the fact that there is a conscious effort to bring the penults into rime, as we should expect.

Neglecting for the present the difference in the final syllable, and taking into account the penult alone, we may arrange these rimes under the same rubrics as those given in our main class I, and we shall see that they submit perfectly well to this arrangement:

Corresponding to accurate penultimate rime of the short vow

such as blîde : nîde, we have here Zâla : wâra, inne : kinde, sînu : blîdu, gineinen : deilen, biginne : sinde, etc. This type includes 154 rimes, i.e. over half of the total number of the class, which again illustrates the fact that rime of the penult was aimed at as well as the ultimate syllable. Of rimes in which the initial consonants of the penults heighten the rime effect by being identical are : wâni : wâri (I 15.23); niheine : heime (I 1.94); niheinan : heilan (I 1.98); ruaret : ruamit (II 2.19); niheiner : heilen (III 21.27); gineindu : nennen (III 22.58); mînan : mîdan (IV 26.30); seltsâme : sâre (V 12.17). Corresponding to the type nôte : hôrte, there are only 3 rimes, namely ruame : duame, andremo : gerno, and lougnen : goumen, but such rimes as thame : alle, Zellen : nennen, corresponding to the type heilte : gemeinte are again numerous, there being 102 instances; the penult ends in a nasal or liquid in all cases. Of the type guate : dâte there is a very small representation in Class II, only 3 rimes being found : heilen : thînen; mâren : thiarnun and waltendan : einan.

The type represented in class I by riate : guate, compre-

only 4 examples, namely: Ziorro: stuolo; duura: dina, ziaro: thiono, and fuaruen: fialun (IV 16.42), in the last of which the initial consonant of the penult is identical.

Type worto: harto of Class I. Only 5 rimes in Class II: wanne: mendæ, manne: kinde, mannon: undorn 2, sindse: suinmanwee. Of the wuntar: altar type, where the penultimate consonant is not identical but similar, the rimes are more numerous, i.e. 59; in three cases the initial consonant is identical, corresponding to the borgæ: berge class of I, viz. thanne: thinge (II 6.45); werren: wollin (IV 14.16); stirri: fistelli (V 17.29). The final consonant of the penult is in each case a nasal or liquid, and this class, as well as the others above mentioned, has exactly the same characteristics as the corresponding types of Class I, leaving out of consideration, of course, the ultimate syllable.

There occur 25 rimes of the nôti: dâti type, such as wâri: seôni, wâru: Rûmu etc, in 8 of which the riming vowels are a: o i.e. the two most similar vowels. Moreover, the initial consonant of the penult is in three cases identical:

sârz : sîna (III 7.33; 19.5) and wâra : wîla (IV 13.4), again illustrating the intention to rime the penult, even though the vowels are not identical.

So much, then, for penultimate rime in which the ultimate syllable is not identical, as in Class I, but similar. As regards our third class, in which there is no similarity of the beginning consonant of the final syllable, as in lîka : thinx, sluagen : wârun etc., little discussion seems necessary, as it exhibits the same features as the preceding classes, and the same aim may be observed to bring the penult into rime. It remains however to show in what proportion this rime is found in the various books, and under what types it is to be classified.

There are 269 rimes belonging here, this being the smallest of the three classes. They are divided :

I	II	III	IV	V	Total
74	30	45	53	67	269

It will be noticed that in this class, as in the preceding, that V and more especially I contain more rimes

than the remaining books. If the examples for these two classes be added together, the result is as follows:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Class II	84	65	73	46	87	355
" III	74	30	45	53	67	269
	158	95	118	99	154	624

The question now to be answered is: what part of the penultimate rime of each book does the rime of the above classes form? Penultimate rime, in all its types, is found divided as below given:

I	II	III	IV	V	Total
804	767	963	948	956	4438

Classes II and III form the following percentages of the total penultimate rime:

I	II	III	IV	V
19.7%	12.4%	12.3%	10.5%	16.1%

What may we conclude from the fact that V and more especially I are separated from the other books in their more frequent use of penultimate rime in which the final syllable is not identical? May we not assume, using this evidence as a criterion, that I and V are of earlier origin? It seems quite reasonable to regard such

as sîne : mîdr, gâbé : wâré as marking an earlier and less skilful period of our poet, particularly in consideration of the fact that rimes in which the final syllable is identical are so very much more predominant. In view of the other stylistic peculiarities of Book I[1], which are usually explained as due to an earlier date of composition, the evidence above cited materially strengthens this point of view for this book at least, as it contains the largest proportion of the wâra : Zâla rimes.

Returning from this digression to Class III, we will consider how rime-groups are still a favorite expedient, by mentioning some under the accurate type of this class : scowon : megon 16 ; bouma : gilouke 9; lîbe : thîne 14 (cf II 23); fuârmen : gesâhum 7; hôhe, scône 5. Rimes of this accurate penultimate type comprise 167, i.e. over

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1) Especially rimes, prized on account of the use of alliteration. Cf. Vogel, Deutsche Litteraturgeschichte, I 2, 23 and 40, and P.B.B. II, 111

one half of the total 269 of this class. The following have the initial consonant of the penult identical: Maria : mâra (I 6.1) werdan : werban (III 6.21); gâhi : gigâbi (IV 14.10); nâhit : gināit (IV 29.9).

The other types are so few in number that no remarks often occur sufficiently to be deserve mentioned.

Type hôti : hôrti of class . . Only 8 examples of liobon : thionon, geistes : gheizzes, tôthes : heimortes etc.

Type heilta : gimeinta. Also 8 instances of stimmion : kindon; erdu : Zellu; sorgon : follon, etc.

Type guati : dâti. 6 verbs of liebon : mînon, thiagan : wârun muates : anluzzes etc.

Type riati : guati. Only 5. cf. liobor : mainer, houbit : fuglt.

Type worto : harto. 10. of selbon : galgan; warba : erda; alles : feldes.

Type muntar : altar. 20 in 17 of which the final consonant of the penult is a nasal or liquid. cf. werbunt : folgunt; helgan : biginnan. cf. also werda : wolle (I 5.63).

Type nôti : dâti 22 verbs. cf hôhi : dâti; sûaz : guotâtaz; irlâren : wîwen; liobon : gimagon. Also waron : wîwon (III 16.28).

Type dâte : hôuti, 18 instances in which the extra consonant is predominantly sonorous, i.e. a nasal or liquid. cf. stautan : scôuan ; thînaz ; gihôrtaz ; sînaz : fullnaz and others.

Penultimate – Antepenultimate Rime.

Before passing to a discussion of antepenultimate rime, we have to deal with a small number, ca. 104, of rimes, in which there is undoubtedly rime between the penult of one word and the antepenult of the other. A few rimes may be cited in order to illustrate what is meant by such a category as the above:

folgêtun : woltun, githahti : ahtôti, nôte : stôzzeti, wôte : folgêti; girinôt : gidiltun, fârêta : ruarta; andremo iungo, wurgelun : bluomun; ougun : gisewotun, urnbi : memniagî.

As the above instances show, the antepenult is long in every case, thus allowing secondary stress on both the following syllables. We may assume, however that it is the ultima that bears the heavier of the secondary stresses, and that the penult is shunned, forming a move (?) from the antepenult to the ultima. For example, the rime of the first words of the above is a proof that they should be accented thus: fólgêtun : wóltun, as only by such stress can the riming parts be brought into prominence.

These rimes fall into the same classifications as those of penultimate rime, namely, I. The final syllable

identical, naturally the largest division, containing 60 rimes, i.e. over half the total number.

II. The vowel of the ultimate syllable is identical, but the initial consonant is only similar, the smallest class with only 9 rimes, as: [illegible] III. The vowel of the final syllable is identical, but the initial consonant is neither identical nor similar. [illegible] total of 104. These are distributed as follows among the five books:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Class I.	16	6	16	13	9	60
Class II.	5	0	1	2	1	9
Class III.	19	1	4	2	9	35
Total	40	7	21	17	19	104
	4.1%	0.8%	1.9%	1.8%	1.8%	2%

It will be noticed that Book I contains about two-fifths of the total number, or 4.1% of the total. Suffix rime is made up of such rimes. This is again, an indication, apparently, of the earlier composition of this book. Such rimes as fólgiten : wóltien are not common, and may have a characteristic method of rime for the poe

not yet skilful enough to rime always antepenult with antepenult and penult with penult.

In contrast to the type fólgètùn : wóldùn we may mention such rimes as éinòtùn : dótùn, a perfectly common and characteristic type in Otfrid, in which both secondary accents have their full stress, and penult rimes with penult.

Antepenultimate Rimes.

While antepenultimate rimes, such as *woraḱta : forakta*, can not be compared in point of frequency of occurrence with penultimate rimes as the proportion is only 1 to 9, it is found not infrequently and is no doubt aimed at in such cases; its use is naturally more restricted than that of penultimate rimes, because of the greater difficulty in finding rime words of three syllables than with two.

So far as the final syllable is identical we may thus divide the rimes:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
1. Accurate (*woraḱta : praḱta*)	5	6	7	12	6	38
2. Others	82	53	64	88	61	348
	87	59	73	100	67	386
	9%	6.7%	6.6%	8.9%	6.2%	7.6%

The above percentages serve to show what part of each book is made up of antepenultimate rimes. The types of this class are extremely numerous, so that they will not be brought forward at this place.

When one ~~remembers~~ that both the ante-
penult and the penult, (as well with reference to con-
sonants as to vowels, have to be taken into consideration
in such a classification, (he) will readily understand
why so many types are possible and actually occur.
Some examples of both the accurate and inaccurate
sort may not be amiss, in order to familiarize us
with the rimes under discussion: gîthrewîta : gîetrewîta,
thegana : segana ; korôti : worolti ; habîti : sagîti,
Isamanne : habanna ; lobônte : worolte ; tunicha : dinabîcha ;
klagônte : sagûnte ; lobônti : wonênti ; habîtun : gedragôtun ;
sagîta : makalta ; fillennes : brennennes ; gizîlôti : holôti ;
samanên : thêganon ; worolte : berante ; garota : worahta ;
sagîte : tôta, etc. The accent in such rimes is regularly on
a short antepenult, so that such a word would be
thus marked: thégana, there being no stress on
the penultimate syllable.

How do classes II[1] and III[2], in which the final syllable
is in the one case similar and in the other dissimilar,
compare with I above? We find just the same two

of rime as in I, though not occurring so often.
Below may be seen the enumeration of the rime Lauces:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Class II	7	12	9	15	25	68
" III	32	11	19	23	10	95
	39	23	28	38	35	163
	4%	2.6%	2.5%	3.3%	3.2%	3.1%

The total number grouped under these two classes is not quite half as much as where the final syllable is identical; Otfrid is, therefore, still on his guard in the case of ante-penultimate rime with regard to the metrical. (1) Examples of III are: giscidili : nidiri; theyana : ougida; himilo : uidiro; himilo : nidaro; ubimo : nidimo; gibilidôt : giedinôt; buhila : obana, etc.

The rimes of the final syllables, or rather the initial consonants of the syllables are as follows:
n : r 19; n : l 13; n : d 13; n : ng(n) 5; n : m 3;
l : r 10; l : ng(n) 1. Notice the much greater frequency of n in these rimes than the other consonants.

(1) Illustrations of Class III may be multiplied

bridegu : redinu ; menigū : huelifū ; rdili : bilidi ; managū : gisamani ; palaiza : driurunta, etc .

Paul notices in these two classes the tendency toward such remes as ingegini : menigi , in which at least one of the consonants of the last two syllables is the same, but the order in one is the reverse of that in the other.

If we examine the remes of class I according to this principle, we find that nearly one-Third or 19 of the total 64 are of this nature. These will be cited, in order to make the point more clear.

redinu : fruridu 6 ; redua : salida 5 ; redonôn : bilidôn 2 ; thegana : kuninga 3 ; githigana : kuninga 1 ; offonêro : fudonef ; Emboronon : widorôn 1.

Class III shows this tendency most clearly, for in 36 of its 86 instances, both consonants are the same, and in 14 other cases one consonant is identical as in class II above. The examples are ingegini : menigi 28 ; githigini : menigi 2 ; kisila : felisa 1 ; managa : stiganal ; managa : thegana 2 ;

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1) Fund n are especially frequent in these syllables.

manaqa : paqaua 1; manaqa : gilegrua 1; rili : lili 1.
Also, meniqi : gisamani 1; meniqa : redina 1; githigini : heligi 1;
requla : bredija 1; lilidi : frairli 3; manaqe : gisamana 1;
manaqe : giscribna 1; manaqa : redina 1.

The above proportions of this rime are too great to permit of our asserting that such a type is due to mere accident; it is rather to be regarded as another feature of Alfred's rime technic, and the above enumeration shows that that is right in (assuming) such rimes as intentional.

(Looking now at the entire field of antepenultimate rime we find it occurring as follows:

I	II	III	IV	V	Total
126	82	101	138	102	549
13%	9.4%	9.2%	12.3%	9.5%	10.8%

In Book I we find the largest proportion of ante-

kind of penultimate) rime, and an explanation is thus afforded as to the reason for a smaller percentage on the part of I in some types of penultimate rime.

The same (evidence) that were resorted to (in the case of the latter rime) obtain also in the present discussion, and lead us to the conclusion that, while ante-penultimate rime may not (Otfrid's norm) preclude rime, (that being penultimate rime), where such instances occur they were due to a conscious intention on the part of the poet to bring the syllable in question into rime.

These (This evidence) proofs, to recapitulate them, are I. The frequency of rime proper. II. The identity of the initial consonant of the antepenult, as a means of bringing (it — consists of) this syllable into rime, or heightening the rime effect; cf. salidon : salidon. This effort may be most clearly proved from a type such as samanon : thegnon. Of 14 rimes of this nature 12 are of thanana : thegana, showing that Otfrid used this means as an expedient for securing rime of the antepenult.

III. Where there is no identity of the ante-penultimate rime,

ca. in 3/5 of the instances, an investigation shows that, as in penultimate rime, it is the most similar vowels that rime most often (together), namely, a:o, u:e, and e:i. Rimes of i:u are extremely rare which serves to show that where these two dissimilar vowels are rimed so often together, there was some external influence acting upon one or the other, tending to draw them toward each other, as for instance the rounding effect of w seen in the case of penultimate rime. As soon as such a type as sáqêtà : bétôtà appears, there seems to be the inception of rime; next comes the type saqêtà : holêtà in which the ante-penultimate vowels are similar, and finally the accurate stage forakta : worakta, with all the stages between that affect the penult.

We now may return to our proofs I and II and cite examples under each; and first the rime groups of I: forakta : worakta 10; zelita : welita 5; thaqîta : saqêta 4; seganon : theganon 3, werita : nerita 3; filorana : jilorana 3; thiqetun : zelitun 4; habêtun : saqêtun 3; redina : theqana qana

redinon : theyanon 7 ; thanana ; thegana 12 ; ubili : fravili 6 ;
obana : thanana 3 ; furiston : hèriston 4 ; sitoti : irretati ;
sagetun : Zilotun 10 ; managun : hebigan 4 ; worolti . sagetis .
Class II
redinu : fravidu 6 ; redina : selida 5 ; redans : himili 5 ;
sidilon : redinon 3 ; redinôn : kolerôn 5 :
Class III . ingegini : meniga 28 ; bilidi : fravili 4 ; bilidi : fra-
vila 3 ; menigâ : ithegini 4 ; redinôn : bridigôn 5 ; manags :
garaur 3 .

So much then for nine groups. We may nett il-
lustrate our second point of proof for the effort to
secure interpenetrative by citing all instances where
the initial consonant of this syllable is identical, be-
ginning with the examples of our largest Class, ca. I :
They are as follows : Zi Samans : sabans (V 6.5) ; Zi Samans :
sagans (II 9.73) ; Zilôtun : gizinôtun (IV 37.17) ; worolti : wonalti
(II 1.37 ; III 20.156 ; IV 26.21) ; worolti : wonanti (V 20.94) ;
ungiwitti : widari (III 8.10) , gigarôtun : gagantun (I 23.13) ;
meinnônti : bindiți (I 4.8) ; thanana : thegana (I 3.26, 11.27 ;
II 21.39 ; III 6.11 ; 9.3 ; 20.3 ; IV 7.1 ; 22.19 ; 30.30 ; 35.21 ; V 9.3 ; 21.25 ; 22.1) ;
Selidon : salidon (I 7.24) ; Zauiti : Zeliti (V 13.12, 14) ; Sitoti : sa-

gete (IV 11.26); Zi sumans : sohanna (I 7.7); woroltí[1] : wuregan-
tí (I 11.32); woraltí : cruelete (V 1.2); woroltí : wregantí (I 7.26),
lebinti : gilaubrntí (I 6.6); gilebêten : lobôten (I 1.126);
druhtene : dretanna (I 4.46); gihogêti : habêti (I 9.22);
gisitôti : firsalte (IV 11.4); filorenes : bilatanes (IV 5.11).

As to classes II and III it may be stated that they contain no examples of the above, strangely enough, as class I shows a quite frequent usage, the proportion being 1 to the total number of times under this class 31 to 386 or 1 : 9. It is true that the other two classes are much smaller than I, containing respectively 18 and 95 units, but we should certainly expect a few instances of the above types (which are not forthcoming?)

[1] Note frequency of woroltí in these combinations

Other Old High German Monuments.

In order to show the relation of the other earlier Old High German rimed poems to Otfrid's, a few words may be said regarding their rime. The following percentages will serve to show what proportion of each poem is made up of suffix rime, and how this compares with Otfrid's use.

Otfrid 71.7%; Ludwigslied 54.2%; Georgslied 58.3%; Petruslied 50%; Christus u. d. S., 48.4%; Psalm 138 - 40%.

That is, none of the poems approach Otfrid so far as this rime is concerned, as we find him using 12.8% more than the Ludwigslied, this containing, after Otfrid's highest amount. This fact would seem to be an indication of the greater ability of the latter, for it is certainly more difficult to use rimes extending over two or three syllables than those in which only one syllable is involved, as in Tun-rimes.

As to the vowel of the final syllable, we may perceive the same care exercised as in Otfrid, and

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Vgl. Vos, Rime Parallelism in O.H.G. Verse, p. 441.

only very rarely do we find such rimes not identical, except in Psalm 138, where this is frequently the case.

So far as it is a question, however, of the identity of the entire final syllable, it must be confessed that one finds this much less often than in the rimes of Otfrid, as the statement given below, showing the percentage of suffix rime with identical final syllable, will show: Otfrid 83.8%; Ludwigslied 51.2%; Georgslied 60.6%; Petruslied 66⅔%; Christus u. d. S., 33⅓%; Psalm 138 - 28.6% This again shows the author of the Evangelienbuch as a more skilful poet.

If we proceed as previously, and divide the suffix rimes of these smaller monuments into penultimate and ante-penultimate rime, the result for penultimate rime is: Ludwigslied 68.7, and for ante-penultimate rime is 31.3%

Georgslied	72.7%	"	" 27.3%
Petruslied	100%	"	" 000%
Christus u. d. S.	64.3%	"	" 35.7%
Psalm 138	93%	"	" 7%

If This is probably due to its Latin note. cf. Sievers, Ahd. Lesebuch § 179

Penultimate rime forms 87.2 % of Otfrid's rimes, and antepenultimate only 10.7 %, the remaining 2% being made up of penult- antepenultimate rime. There is, therefore, a less frequent use of the former in the smaller monuments, and correspondingly more of the latter, including under both heads, of course, both accurate and inaccurate types. As to other points, we may notice the same method of rime as found in Otfrid, both as to his tendency to rime the prefixes gi- together, and to heighten the rime effect by identity of the initial consonant of the penult or antepenult. cf. kiscirrit : kiscephôt (Christus u. d. S. 13); gidanchun : gizunchan ; giwar : gipar (Psalm 138-l 5+22); giborana : berega (Christus u. d. S. 29); fâhan : fêlan ; kamaro : kuningmo (Georgslied l. 36+47) ; kuoni : gikunni ; lidez : libo (Ludwigslied l 54+51).

Identical Rime.

By identical rime is meant here rime in which the riming words or syllables are perfectly identical in form. With regard to rime of this sort J. J. [illegible] remarks as follows: "In modern art this kind of rime seems objectionable and we find that for the Middle High German poet too it did not occupy the same position as ordinary rime. This is clearly shown not only by its low ratio of frequency but also by the limitations with which its use was attended. Identical rime may then be regarded as by nature a makeshift, used mostly where there was a paucity or entire lack of other rimes. From this principle there follows that as the technical skill of the poet developed, his recourse to this makeshift would become less and less frequent. Alongside of this increase in the poet's resources we must suppose that there was developing a finer feeling for the imperfections of this kind

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[illegible] Diction und Rime-Technic of Hartman von Aue."

of rime: refinement of feeling for form went side by side with a greater versatility in the employment of resources at command."

Zwierzina[1] assumes substantially the same attitude, and shows with what care the more skilful Middle High German poets avoided its usage, as offensive to good taste.

In a study of Otfrid's rime, the question at once arises, how did he regard identical rime? Was his frame of mind toward it the same as that of the above mentioned poets, or was this makeshift one that was not displeasing to him, and to which he frequently resorted? It is known that he uses various other expedients, such as adverbial expressions for instance, to secure rime, and one asks himself whether perhaps he makes so free a use of identical rime that it too may be looked upon as due to the same exigency; or whether in certain books a

[1] ZfdA, 45, 286 f. "der wechselnde Reim".

decrease can be traced as his skill increased and as his feeling for the imperfections of such rime grew stronger.

W. Grimm[1] has already enumerated the instances of identical rime, but there are quite a number of omissions, and many of the rimes cited by him have to be excluded, according to the definition above given and also according to Sievers's own definition, (Beitr. 5, 125). These cases will be discussed in their proper place. It was such circumstances as these that made a quick classification of Otfrid's identical rimes seem desirable, in order to find his point of view in the use of them.

We may classify the instances under the following categories:

I. Complete identity of the riming words, both in form and meaning: cf. ist : ist; ther : ther; mînu : mînu.

II Complete identity in form, difference in use or meaning.

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[1] Kleinere Schriften 4, 1097.

cf. sîn (inf.) : sîn (pron); lîkr (noun) : lîk (verb); reine (adj.) : reine (adv.)

III. The rime word is identical in form with part of the other.

A. The riming parts are from the same stem.

1. Simplex : compound. cf. rîchi : himilrîchi; kuni : thegankuni.

B. Riming parts are not from the same stem.

1. Simplex : compound. cf. antwurti (noun) : wurti (verb); in alamâri : wârfot);

B. Simplex : secondary syllable or syllables. cf. nôte : ginôte;
suen : herasuen; nôt : giredinôt.

IV. The parts preceding the rime syllables are dissimilar.

A. Dissimilar prefixes. cf. fîtiari : bîtiari; brîgê : gigê.

B. Adverbs in -lîcho. cf. iogilîcho : gualîcho; ballîcho : thegunlîcho.

C. Compounds in -lîh. cf. sumilîh : gilîh.

D. Others. cf. lembîring (adv.); woroltring (noun); thara-
sun (adv.) : drût sun (noun).

We may now take up these categories, one by one, enumerate the rimes under each, and, where it seems proper, discuss the instances.

I. Complete identity of the riming words, both in form and meaning.

A. Parts of the verb "to be": ist : ist (I 1; II 4; III 2); was : was (I 2); sê : sî (III 2; V 7).

B. Pronouns.

a. personal. thir : thir (II 1; III 1); thich : thik (V 2); mich : mich (III 1); in : in (I 1; III 2; IV 3; V 2); iu : iu (III 1; IV 5; V 1).

β. demonstrativ. thaz : thaz (II 1; III 7; V 1); thee : thee (V 1); thin : thin (II 2; III 3; IV 2).

γ. Possessiv. mîn : mîn (III 1); mîna : mîna (III 1).

δ. niwiht : niwiht (II 1).

C. Adverbs. io : io (I 1).

I 5; II 10; III 21; IV 10; V 14 = 60

Of two other examples, the one, rigi (vb) : rigi (vb) corrected by Trimm because Mss. F, has reigé in one case; it has therefore not been included here.

The other instance is found in III 7. 42, gouma : goumâ, cf. nimes es harto gouma, thiz sint thio selbun goumâ. These two words are not identical in meaning and can

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[1] Six of these rimes in V occur in a refrain in chapter 1.

not therefore be classed under the above category, as Francke wishes; for the phrase gouma neman means in Otfrid "wahrnehmen, bemerken", whereas the other gouma is the nominative plural of the noun used in its regular substantive meaning.

The rimes of this class are these, with a single exception, io! io, parts of the verb 'to be' or are pronouns; they consist only of monosyllabic words, excluding mêna and wiwikt. Their unequal distribution in the various books must also be noticed, for while III leads the list, IV, of equal length, has only half as many identical rimes; likewise II, of the same length as I, has double the instances of I, which contains the fewest examples.

The extent of Otfrid's use of identical rime of the above class may be seen from a comparison with Hartman. While we find 60 such rimes in a compass of about 7000 lines in the former, only 5 from all the latter's works occur, which shows how offensive they were to him. Whether he explain the frequency of

such remis in @tfrid as due to the poverty of his
rime technic or not, certainly he had no distaste
for them, nor can it be said that as he became more
skilful he discarded them, for granting for the
moment that Book I was the first written, we have
at the very beginning a less frequent use (in it)
than afterwards, where there is a decided increase.

We may now examine the rimes of our second classifica-
tion: Complete identity in form, difference in use or meaning.

Sîn (pron.) : Sîn (inf.) I 1; II 1; III 1; IV 1; V 1	}	6
Sîn " : Sîn (Subj. 3d) III 1		
Êr " : Êr (adv.) I 1		1
Ubar al " : al (pron.) II 1		1
in (pron.) : în (adv.) II 1; III 2; IV 4; V 1		8
Mîn (poss. pron.) : mîn (pers. pron.) IV 1		1
Maht (noun) : maht (verb) III 1		1
Eino (adv.) : eino (adj.) V 1		1
Lîbe (noun) : lîbe (verb) III 1		1
wîsen (noun) : wîsen (adj.) III 1		1
Jouma (Verbal expression) : Joumâ (noun) III 1		1

wunne (noun) : wunne (vb) II 1 Total = 23.

I 2 ; II 4 ; III 8 ; IV 6 ; V 3 = 23

Here, as in the preceding class, Book III contains the greatest number of examples and Book I the fewest. The two most frequent rimes under this group are in (pron) : în (adv), occurring 8 times, and sîn (pron) : sîn (vb), of which 7 examples are found. The former is also found 4 times in Hartman, and the latter once. Zwierzina on p 28, cites as one proof of Wolfram's anxious avoidance of "rührender reim" this absence of sîn (pron) : sîn (inf). Gottfried knows no such avoidance. Both sîn, as infinitive and pronoun are common rimes with him, and as shown above, their riming together was not displeasing to him.

What he does avoid however is the rime of sîn (vb) : sîn (vb) or sîn (pron) : sîn (pron), no such rime being used by him. This state is interesting, especially as regards the latter form, for as he rimes in (pron) both with itself and with the adverb în, he might easily have found that he should not stop at the rime of sîn (pron) : sîn (pron)

but should rime each form with itself. That he does not would seem to indicate that his feeling for sîn : sîn was different from that for in : in. We must also note that he rimes mîn (pron) with itself, although here the case is somewhat different, as there is no other really identical form with which it could rime. The advert mîn with short vowel may have offered difficulties, though even here in (pron) : în (adv) would have supplied the precedent.

Class III. One rime word is identical in form with part of the other.

A. The riming parts are from the same stem.

1. Simplex : Compound. rîche : himilrîche (I 1; II 1), rîchi : himilrîchi (II 2; IV 1; V 3), rîchi : kuningrîchi (IV 1); rîchi : worltrîchi (V 1); rîches : himilrîches (III 1). thegankind : kind (I 1); duam : wisduam (I 1); ummahti : mahti (III 1); alalîchi : lîchi (IV 1); gualîchi : lîchi (IV 1); lêit : Zagalêit (IV 1); wiht : nâwiht (I 1; II 1; V 1); wurti (vb) : firwurti (vb) I 1; wurti : giwurti (III 1); wurtin : firwurtin (III 1); widit : firwidit (II 1); werde : firwerde (III 1); ward : giward (II 1), lârzt : bilârzt (II 1); gihei zan : heizan (II 1; III 1); bihuzi : huzi (IV 1); fir nâmin : nâmin (II 1); gilegge : legge (III 1),

fertârun : târun (IV 1); giang : zigeâng (II 1); gab : firgat (V 1); ungerno : gerno (I 1); iarnêr : mêr (II 1).

I 6; II 10; III 5; IV 8; V 6 = 35

B. Riming parts are not from the same stem.

a. Simplex : Compound. antwurti (noun) : wurti (vb) II 1; IV 1; giwurti (noun) : wurti (vb) III 3; IV 2; V 1; giwurdi (wk vb) : wordi (st. vb) III 1; in alawâri : wâri (vb) I 1; II 1; III 1; V 2; in alawâr : wâr (adj) I 1; in giwâri : wâri (vb) III 1; wizzi (noun) : firwizzi (noun) III 2; V 1; wizzi (noun) : itwizzi IV 2; sculdheizo (noun) : heizo (adj) IV 1; III 1; machôn (inf) : gimachon (noun) I 1; gibergi (vb) : bergi (noun) II 1; fir-burgi (vb) : burgi (noun) IV 1; hordbit (noun) : manohoubit (noun) II 1; githankon (noun) : thankôn (inf) III 1; ubilo (noun) : leibo (noun) III 1; fazzôn (inf) : lioht fazzon (noun) IV 1; anuzzi (noun) : nuzzi (adj) IV 1; sumilîcho (adj) : lîcho (vb) V 1; tharain (adv) : in (prep) IV 1.

I 3; II 4; III 11; IV 10; V 5 = 33

In this class the riming parts, in addition to being from different stems, are usually words, or parts of words, that are of different parts of speech.

b. Simplex : secondary syllable or syllables.

nôte : Enote (I 1; II 2), noti : thionoti (I 1; V 1); noti : honoti (?

nôti : regonôti (III 1); nôti : gisamanôti (III 2); nôti : skinôti (III 1); nôtin : skinôtin (III 1); nôtin : warnôtin (IV 1); thurah nôt : redinôt (I 1; IV 1; V 1); thurah nôt : fardamnôt (III 1; V 1); gêrnôt (III 1; IV 1), biseganôt (V 1); gisamnôt (V 1); Lerinôt (IV 1); pinôt (II 1); in nôt : meinnôt (II 1); nôt : fardamnôt (II 1; V 1); weinôt (IV 1); henti : rochenti (I 1); wichenti (I 1); got : bredigôt (V 1); himinigôt (IV 1); lanti : heilanti (V 1); lant : heilant (I 3; III 2; IV 2); sun : herasun (I 1; II 10; III 3; IV 4; V 2); tharasun (I 2; II 2; III 2); heimortsun (II 1); wîsin (II 5); manmunti : munti[1] (V 14); sê : Persi (I 1); wîsi (I 1; III 1; IV 2; V 1); in gisissî (III 1, IV 2; V 2); fristantnissi (II 1); sê : gisisse (III 6; IV 2, V 1), wasse (I 1); sgisse (V 2); min : friâmin (III 1), minu : nu (IV 1); dôthes : thes (IV 1); nirknâist : ist (V 1); lîs : alles (V 1); Erdrunnî : gê (II 1).

I 16; II 25; III 23; IV 22; V 32 = 118

In this, the largest class thus far, nôt and its inflected forms, mostly in adverbial phrases, are very numerous, rhyming usually with the third singular present indicative or past

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[1] cf. Refrain V 23.

participle of verbs of the second weak conjugation. Also the noun sun with herasun and tharusun, so with giwisso, sî wâri wêsi, lant: heilant and various other forms are frequent. Under this heading Grimm classes rimes which, according to the definition of identical rimes above given, would not belong here. Some of his examples are: rehtaz: thaz; fliazantaz: thaz; scînantaz: thaz; heimortes: thes; mithontes: thes; nahtes: thes; muates: thes; widarstantanne: thanne, and also blîdar: thaz; furdir: thir; sindes: thes and lindo: thô. We have then to operate 1) with rimes of t: th and 2) with those of d: th. We will discuss the latter class first. The rule for the shifting of the West Germanic voiceless spirant th is in Otfrid th for anlaut, and d for in- and auslaut. With regard to the regularity of this rule Braune[1] remarks as follows: "Bei Otfrid ist das Gesetz des anlautenden th nur durch einzelne anlautende d in hs. V durchbrochen, deren Zahl in h

[1] Ahd Grammatik § 167 a 4

P noch vermindert wird, während natürlich der bair. Freie. anlautendes d in stärkerem Masse einfügt. Anderseits sind in- und zu-lautend statt des herrschenden d auch eine Anzahl th zu verzeichnen; inlautend besonders oft in sinthes und in casus von tôd, lôd mors, z. b. tôthes, lôthe."

These runes, blîdaz : thaz ; furdir : thir ; sindes : thes, and lindo : thô appear in this form in Mss. V and P, while in F the thaz, thir and thes have shifted to d, viz. daz, dir, des. The runes thus seem to have identical runes, as blîdaz : daz, and Grimm apparently places them under this category on the authority of this one Mss. F, although to be consistent he should exclude them as not common to all the Mss., as he has, in an above mentioned instance, repudiated the rune Eigi : ni Eigi because one Mss. has neigi, where P and V have the uncompounded form.

With reference to the other runes, of t : th, as in muata : thes, we find that initial th shifted in Mss. F. to d also in all except three of Grimm's examples, [illegible]

shift in P and V. he would therefore have a remedy
mutes: dss.

As to the shifting of the west Germanic voiced stop
d (Gothic) in Otfrid, Braune[1] remarks: "O. setzt nur im
anl. regelmässig d, inlautend dagegen stets t", and in
Anm. 2 "O. hat die Regel des anl. d, des inl.- und
auslaut. t Ziemlich streng durchgeführt. Ausnahmen
sind nur vereinzelt." That is, we have the d unshifted in
anlaut, and shifted to the voiceless stop t in inlaut.
In anm. 3 Braune further states: "Die erklärung der
rheinfränk. schwankung zwischen d und t ist wol
darin zu suchen, dass diese Mundart eine stimm-
lose media sprach, welche von der stimmlosen tenuis
(oberd. ostfr. t) durch geringere intensität geschieden
war, und welche andererseits von der stimmhaften
media d (die aus th hervorging) durch den mangel
des Stimmtons abstand. Deshalb schwankt die
orthographie zwischen d und t in der bezeichnung

[1] Ahd Grammatik, §116.3

dieses Lautes. Im südrheinfränk. mag die Articulation dieses d eine etwas intensivere gewesen sein, weshalb die Schreibung t daselbst häufiger auftritt. Die genaue und consequente Scheidung der Schreibungen d für den Anl. und t für den Inlaut bei O. dürfte eher auf willkürlicher orthographischer Regelung von Seiten Otfrids beruhen, als wirklichen Lautverhältnissen entsprechen."

Since then this t and d in Otfrid were so much alike in sound, it seems likely that in such as rime as muates: des Gremin regarded the dse as identical with the -tse of muates, not taking into account the fact that in des the d was a voiced media (from an old th), and therefore differing in sound from the voiceless t, d sound in muates, which go back to a West Germanic d. This I judge from his examples and the statements made by him as to these sounds. He does not mention any difference in sound between the voiced media d (from þ), and the voiceless media

41/ Deutsche Grammatik I, 129f.

(from d) of Ctfrid, such as is suggested by Braune. The close similarity in sound of the t and this latter d may have led him to identify the t in muates in sound with the d of des, which however, as shown above, represents a different sound. If this was not his method of procedure, one does not see under what other circumstances he classes such rimes as identical.

Other rimes, which he regards as identical are those of the type meino, manno. These are introduced by the remark p 160: "Da bei O. völliger Gleichlaut der Vokale und Consonanten nicht notwendig ist, so will ich noch anführen mâron: mêron etc." This class of rimes have already been mentioned in the present discussion, and from an entirely different point of view. According to our definition of identical rime, and that of Zimmer himself - demanding complete agreement in form - rimes of this type can not be regarded as identical.

The rime terran: thurren, which Zimmer calls iden-

tical, has not only the above mentioned difference in the penultimate vowel, but also the rime of tord (from d) with th which shifts in F to d, so that these two dissimilar d sounds are again rimed as identical.

Other examples which he includes under this classification are: mînu : urminne; bibiôta : nôtta; gifnah : nah, none of which are perfectly identical in form, for which reason they must be excluded.

Also duam (naem) and its compounds in rime with duam (inf) has also been rejected on the same ground.

IV. The parts preceding the rime-syllables are dissimilar.

A. Dissimilar prefixes. cf firliazi : giliazi (III 1); biliazi (II 1); bisuîches : gisuîches (III 1); bisuîchi : gisuîchi (III 1); gilîchan : missilîchan (III 1); gisuikhit : bisuikhit (II 1); biqî : giqî (I 1).

I 0; II 1; III 3; IV 1; V 2 = 7

B. Adverbs in -lîcho. cf ioqilîcho : guallîcho (I 2); forahtlîcho (I 1; II 1; V 1); driulîcho (I 1); giwaralîcho (I 1, II 1; III 1); frawalîcho (II 3); hârlîcho (I 1); kraftlîcho (I 1; II 1; IV 1; V 1); baldlîch

(I 1); gilîcho (noun) III 1; V 1; gomilîcho (I 1); blôtlîcho (II 1); lugilîcho (II 1); drugilîcho (II 1); geistlîcho (II 2; V 1); ungeswanlîcho (II 1); garalîcho (II 1); follîcho (II 1; III 1); hrenaglîcho (III 1); gamarlîcho (III 1); thegnlîcho (III 1); suazlîcho (IV 1); liublîcho (IV 2);

gilîcho (adv): frawalîcho (I 1); kuninglîcho (IV 1); forahtlîcho (IV 1).

baldlîcho: thegnlîcho (IV 1); hêrlîcho: fullîcho (IV 1).

Total. I 10; II 14; III 6; IV 7; V 5 = 42

C. Adjectives in -lîk. cf. sumelîk. gilîk (III 1); gelimflîk: gilîk (I 1); iagilîk: samalîk (II 1); wortogilîk: samalîk (I 1)

Total I 2; III 1; V 1 = 4

In the case of the -lîcho adverbs above several points are deserving of our attention:

I. They occur frequently in identical rime, 84 times

II. Of the above total, 40 are rimes of iogilîcho, an adverb not found outside of rime, and in every instance except 2 (: gilîcho (adverb)) riming with a -lîcho adverb. Furthermore it is used almost exclusively i.e. in 34 instances, in the first half line.

III. The -lîcho adverbs, as gualîcho, appear both in and outside of rime. There is a total of 78, of which 44 are used in rime. Of this latter number 38 are rimed with the advert iogilîcho, there being only 4 cases of -lîcho : -lîcho. The remaining two rimes, not however identical, are with the adj. rîcho.

Keeping the above points in mind, we may first ask ourselves why iogilîcho is limited to rime position in Otfrid? This advert is not found elsewhere in O.H.G. poetry so we can gain no help as to its position by consulting this period; and as adverbs in -lîcho occur only a single time[1], we see that we have to turn to the Middle High German period for comparisons. Hartman uses gilîche (adv) both in and outside of rime, as does also Wolfram, so that its use is not restricted in them to rime position, as it is in the case of Otfrid. It was noted above that iogilîcho appears predominantly in the first half line (ex. 34 ; 6), and if we

[1] ellenlîcho, Ludwigslied 42, not in rime.

examine as few of these rimes it will become clear that the appearance of io gilîcho is to be explained as a mere expedient for securing rime with the -lîcho adverb in the second half line. Its meaning of "ever, always" would easily lend itself to this purpose, as the word could thus be added without changing the sense of the line materially. Furthermore, it will not seem strange that we find so many rimes of this colorless io gilîcho with the -lîcho adverbs, which, (latter) are occurring 4 times together, when we remember that outside of rîcho there are no other rime endings in -ìcho that could be used with these -lîcho adverbs. Otfrid is therefore forced to some such makeshift and io gilîcho was, from its meaning or rather lack of meaning, naturally the one chosen.

A few examples are:

V 20.20 Thara (sc. to Christ's throne) ferit al ingegini : engili menigi
guement [io gilîcho] ; tharzua forahtlîcho

II 13.14 Ir wihtes forsechit, : thes er mo zuageisprichit,
hugit [io gilîcho] : Zi thera stimmu, uuili he

II 9.14 Sie sint innana hol, : heilegee gecribes fol,
mit thiu sie unsih [iofilîcho] : drenkent frawalîcho.

I 23.34 Fuar er mit ther bredigu : mit michelem redinu
Joh rafsta sie [iofilîcho] : filu kraftlîcho.

III 20 Do thiu selben kristes kraft : ouua geisleon thar giflaht
uz stiaz er sa [iofilicho] : joh filu kraftlîcho.

IV 7.42 Sine engila ouch in alawar : sie blasent iro hornthar,
thaz duent sie [iofilîcho] : filu kraftlîcho.

V 1.18 Er Zalt iz in orch harto : offonoro worto
thia salida [iofilîcho] : filu suazlîcho.

II 16.13 Thiu natara [iofilîcho] : spiuua sin druofilîcho

Examples enough have been quoted to show that if, in the above cases, iofilîcho should be omitted in each, no detriment to the sense of the line would result. In many of these rimes neither the iofilîcho adverb nor -lîcho advert seems of any great importance to the sense of the line; but where some thing is added it is by the latter.

The above rimes show us also Otfrid's methods of procedure: he finishes out his line to suit

the sense was concerned, and then in the space left in the first half line supplied this colorless advert for rime with that of the second half line.

Zwierzina[1] advances the view that the rimes of gelîch and gelîche with other forms in the suffix -lîch were not felt as identical by Wolfram and Hartman, and are not to be classed under this category. He remarks: "Der zusammenhang von 'gleich' und der adjectiv ableitung -'lich' ist heute im sprachbewusstsein nicht mehr vorhanden, und nur der grammatisch gebildete weiss von ihm, aber auch dieser fühlt ihn beim gebrauche der sprache nicht mehr. So war es wol auch schon im 13 Jh., waren ja auch schon damals gelîch und -lîch im dialekt so viel gegenden lautlich differenciert. Nun reimt Wolfram sein gelîch(e), um seinen konsilbnenlaut ganz ebenso unbekümmert wie in begreiflicherer weise um seine etymologie, ungescheut auf -lîch(e)". He then shows

[1] Zf d A, 45. p. 291.

that although rîch or rîche is the most frequent rime word by far of the ending -ich or îche, with which he could have rimed his gelîch(e), yet Wolfram rimes gelîch(e) : -lîch(e) very often, but avoids riming forms of -lîch(e) : -lich(e).

He resumes: "Aber nicht nur die verschiedene bedeutung und function des -lîch in gelîch und des -lîch in der adjectiv composition kann der grund für Wolframs verhalten sein. Denn verschiedene bedeutung und function haben ja auch sîn 'esse' and sîn 'suus' und andre mehr und dennoch reimt W. sie nicht. Wir werden also mit notwendigkeit annehmen müssen dass W. gelîch, ungelîch sprach. He also brings forward like proof for Hartman and reaches the same conclusion as in the case of Wolfram. The fact that Pfeiffer has in his large number of examples of the above rimes, has in nearly all, rimes of ie gelîche:- lîche, and only rarely - lîche : -lîche shows a state of affairs similar to the M. H. G. usage, but I

do not believe on this account that he pronounced
<u>io</u>gliche; for it seems probable that the relation of
gelich and the -<u>lîch</u> suffix was more keenly felt
in this older period of the language than in M.H.G.
and this would operate against the pronunciation
gliche.
Then too we have 2 instances of -licho! -licho, so
that this combination is not absolutely avoided,
and of the 4 examples of rimes of adjectives in -lîch,
1 is wortogilîch : gilîch which would be identical now
matter how pronounced, as would 2 other in-
stances of iogilîcho : gilîcho (noun). Add to this
the heaviest evidence, that Otfrid makes a free
use of identical rime otherwise, and evidently views
it differently from Wolfram and Hartman, and it
seems safe to assume that gilîcho was pronounced
as it stands, with no intention of avoiding a
repetition of the same sound. As above explained,
the frequency of iogilîcho in rime with -lîcho is due
to the rime facilities of the former word, and the

rarity of rime words with this ending.

D. Others of umbrining: worolttring (V 1.32); tharawert: gegnwert (V 7.59); tharasun: drûtsun (II 9.41); antwurti: giwirti (I 4; V 1=5); urkeizz: biheizz (IV 23.28); antwurti: ungiwurti (III 18.25).

Also, ruowon: jiwon (III 10.7); fidân: Jordân (III 22.6); in giwis: briuwis (II 7.18)

Total I 4; II 2; III 3; IV 1; V 3 = 13

This class is composed of rimes for which there was no place in the other categories.

We are now ready to return to our original question: How does Otfrid regard identical rime?

If the examples from the various categories be added the total amounts to 318, or 4.5% of the entire poem. From the fact that identical rime thus occupies so important a position, we may assume that Otfrid could not have felt any hesitation in using it, arising from a feeling that it should be avoided. The M. H. G. point of view does not, then, obtain with him, for it seems more natural

to conclude that this rime had nothing especially offensive in it for him, than by assuming the opposite, to be obliged to exclude 45 % of his rimes from good usage. Its frequency has, no doubt, its explanation as an expedient for easy rime. It has already been shown how, after having once rimed two words together, Ottfrid repeatedly returned to them, although in most cases other combinations were at hand; and the present case is similar, subserving the same purpose.

Identical rime is divided amongst the various books as follows:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Stem rime.	21	36	38	37	35	167
Per. rime	24	31	38	24	34	151
	45	67	76	61	69	318

The difference between the books offers nothing especially noteworthy, if one bears in mind their difference in length. The former method, which identical rime takes may be seen from the increase from I. to II., both books being of the same length. The precedence is then just

the opposite to that of the M. H. G. poets, an increase and not a decrease. It may be said that identical rime gradually becomes a fixed mannerism of our poet, and contained for him no element of bad taste from his point of view.

It may, perhaps, be objected that we should expect to find a difference in usage between a poet of the O. H. G. period and one of the M. H. G, being so widely separated in point of time, and that the proper comparison would be between between Otfrid and the other rising monuments of O. H. G. This latter literature is so limited than one can not secure satisfactory results; nevertheless this territory has been traversed, the texts followed being that of Braune's O. H. G. Reader.

In the Georgslied occurs one example, woroltrîhhi : himiltrîhhe l 5; in the Ludwigslied two : har (pron) : her (pron) l 52 and eohore : wac; Psalm 138 has mi l 21 mir : mir.

As far, then, as the material reaches it shows practically the same point of view as that of Otfrid.

and his immediate successors seem to have followed the tradition of the great pioneer in German music.

In order to present a comprehensive view of the classifications of Ctfrid's rimes, the following statement may be given.

		I	II	III	IV	V	Total.
I Stem rime	1. Identical	21	36	38	37	35	167
	2. Others	240	247	454	425	371	1837
		261	383	492	462	406	2004
II Penultimate rime							
	1. Identical	24	31	38	24	34	151
	2. Accurate	333	346	431	421	448	1979
	3. Others	447	390	474	503	474	2308
		804	767	963	948	956	4435
III Pen-Antepen. rime.							
	1. Accurate	3	2	4	0	3	12
	2. Others	37	5	17	17	16	92
		40	7	21	17	19	104
IV Antepen. rime.							
	1. Accurate	5	6	9	12	6	38
	2. Others	121	76	92	126	96	511
		126	82	101	138	102	549
V Rimeless Verses		8	0	0	1	0	9
					Total.		7104

Vita.

Thomas Howard Fowler was born in Howard County, Maryland and received his early education in the Public school and Washington College, Chestertown, Md. He was graduated in 1897 from college and in the following year took his Masters degree. After one year of graduate work at Johns Hopkins University, he became instructor in Modern Languages in the Warner Military School, Oxford, North Carolina, where he taught during 1899-1901. Since that time he has pursued graduate work again in the Johns Hopkins University, having held the University Scholarship in German for one year. To his instructors, Professor Henry Wood and Dr. B. J. Vos he desires to express his sincere thanks for the inspiration and benefit gained by following courses under their instruction.

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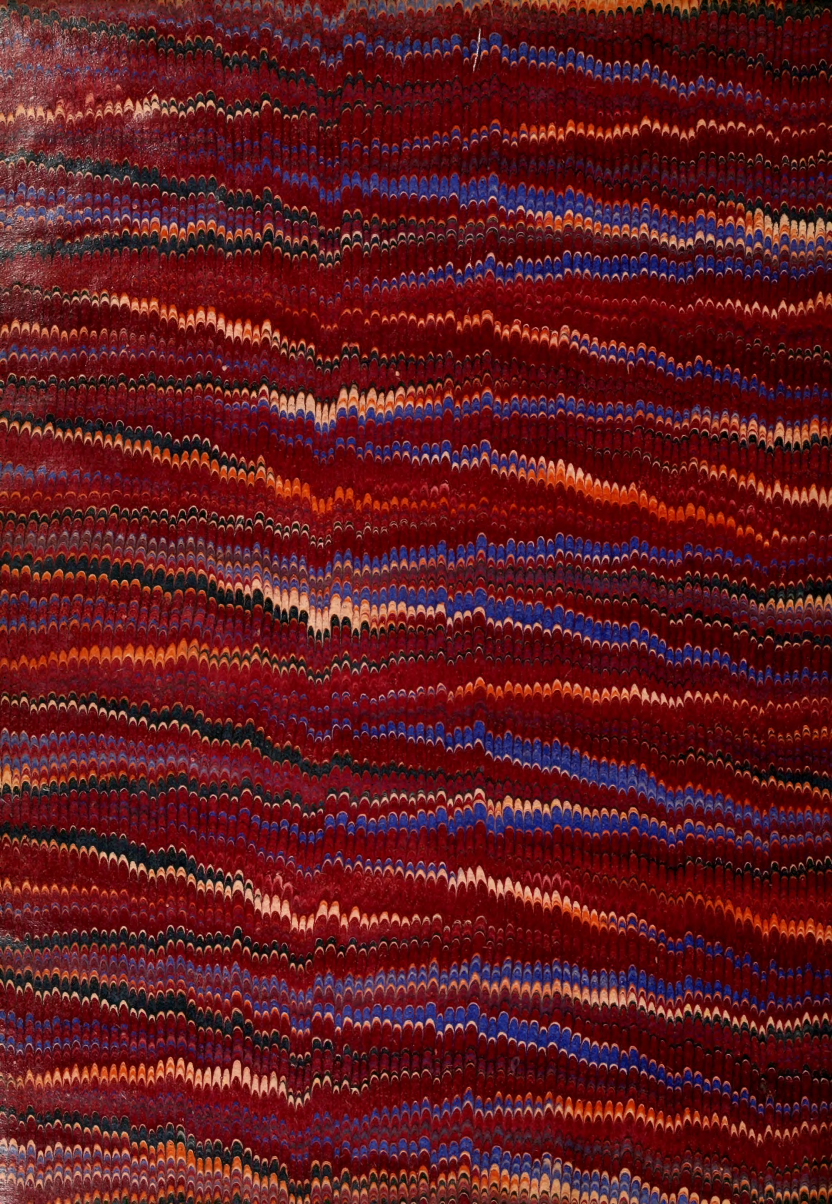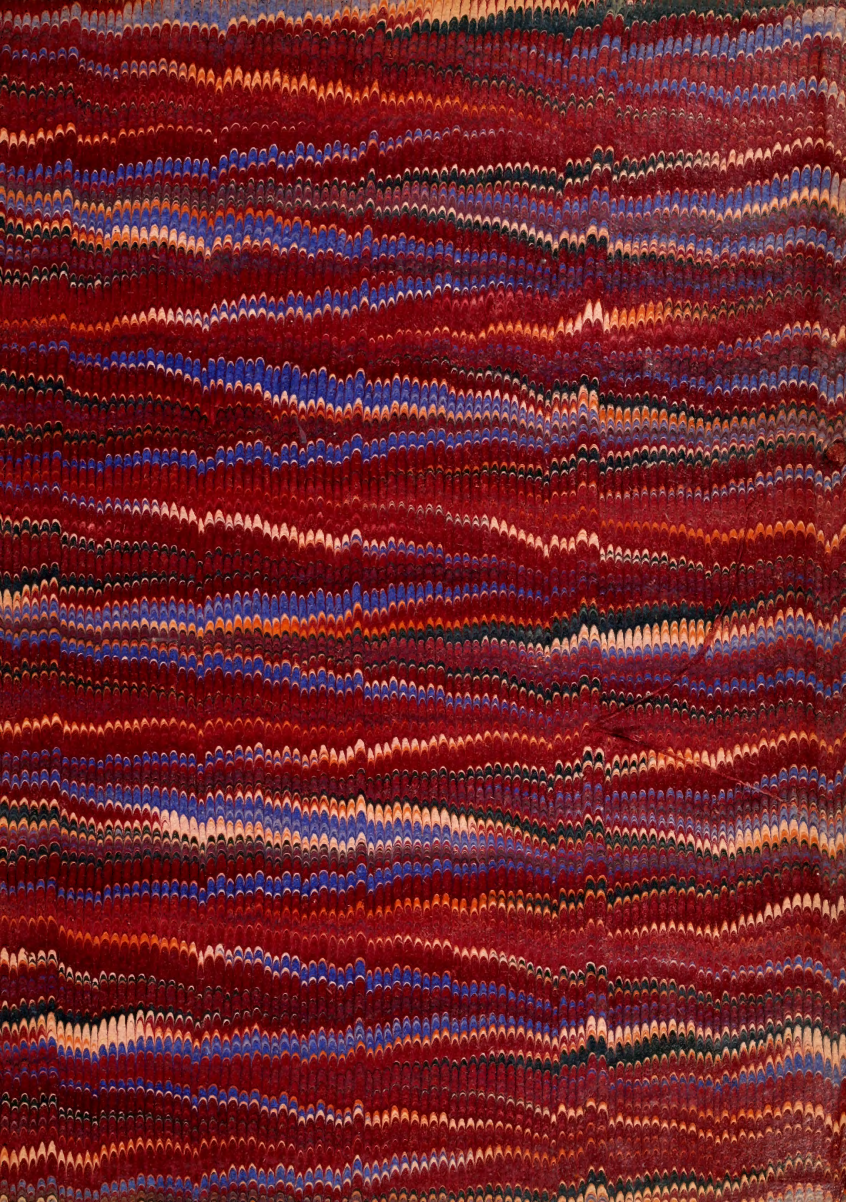
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